THE EXPANSION OF BRITAIN

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The Expansion of BRITAIN

from the

AGE OF THE DISCOVERIES

A Geographical History

By

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Author of 'Historical Geography of Scotland'

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PREFACE

This book is an attempt, on a small scale, to look, from a geographical point of view, at the history of the settlement and growth of the great Dominions of the British Commonwealth, and the foundation and expansion of the Indian Empire. The period covered is from Tudor times to the present day, and some present-day problems are connected with their geographical and historical causes. The manuscript had the very great advantage of criticisms and suggestions by Sir Charles Lucas, but for which the book's shortcomings would be much more numerous.

It is not possible, in a book of this size, to include all the maps that might be desirable, and the use of a general or historical atlas will be found to make the book more intelligible.

Last, but not least important, it remains only to say that this book is dedicated to my wife.

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of geographical discovery which included the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Mediaeval Europe was restricted both to south and to west by physical boundaries so formidable that no really great advance had been made in geographical knowledge since Greek and Roman times; and even some of that knowledge had been lost. Hanno the Carthaginian, for example, four and a half or five centuries B.C. had ventured down the West Coast of Africa at least as far as Sierra Leone. Still earlier, in the time of Pharaoh Necho (600 B.C.), Phoenician navigators had probably rounded the Cape of Good Hope. But to the Middle Ages the southern boundary of the known world was quite definitely formed by the Sahara Desert, which for a thousand miles southward fringed the coast of Africa, thus waterless; to cross it meant a three months' journey by caravan. To north-west a natural route seems pointed out by the chain formed of the Shetlands, the Faroes, Iceland, Greenland, and Labrador, the steps by which in actual fact the Norsemen in the eleventh century had reached America. But here again there was a barrier to further knowledge formed by the steady flow of icebergs which takes place south-westward from Spitsbergen, along the Greenland coast and round Cape Farewell, and then, reinforced by a fresh stream of bergs from Baffin Bay, down the coast of Labrador to Newfoundland. Lastly, there was what would seem to be actually the easiest route of all, to follow the western coast of Europe and Africa southward, and, continuing this

line, to cut diagonally across the Atlantic to the eastern angle of South America. But this was made impossible by the fact that such a route would have fallen within the heart of the belt of the north-east trade-winds, which blow steadily away from Europe, and thus have given to the ships of the Middle Ages, incapable of sailing ' near the wind ', no hope of return. Neither the ships nor the seamanship of the time, in a word, were equal to the venture. Theory, too, as so often happens, had reinforced the argument that practical seamanship seemed to teach. The greatest of ancient geographers, and the first, probably, to set down on maps the geographical knowledge of his day, was Ptolemy. Not content, however, with leaving blank on his maps what he did not know, he supplied the shortcomings of exact science from his imagination; and in his representation of the continent of Africa, in particular, he extended it indefinitely south and westward, and on the east joined it up to China, thus showing the Indian Ocean as a land-locked sea. This misrepresentation, as adopted and adapted by the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages, was in part at least the cause of the long delay of exploration for the sea route to Asia round the Cape of Good Hope.

Notwithstanding, throughout the Middle Ages, there had been handed down tales of lands lying in the Western Ocean—St. Brandan's Isle, Brazil, Antilia—and there had not been wanting scholars who held the theory that it was possible to reach the Indies by sailing westward. Furthermore, about the end of the thirteenth century, the mariner's compass became known in the ports of Europe, and encouragement was given to navigation by the invention of the astrolabe, and of tables, to determine latitude. About the same time, too, a powerful economic argument brought home the necessity of a new route to the Indies. The farmers of the Middle Ages had no knowledge of the use of roots, such as turnips, to give winter feeding for stock, with the result that a great proportion of the meat

eaten throughout the winter had to be killed while the grazing lasted, and salted for winter use. There was consequently, in every country in Europe, a great need for pepper, spices, and

THE ATLANTIC, to illustrate the Norse Voyages and the First Voyage of Columbus.

the like from the East, to be eaten with this salted meat or with fresh meat, which was apt to be 'high'. These had been carried by three routes: (1) up the Persian Gulf and the

Tigris to Bagdad and Trebizond; (2) from Bagdad to Aleppo and Antioch; (3) from Aden up the Red Sea to Tor in the Sinai peninsula, across the Gulf of Suez and the desert to Cairo, and thence down the Nile to Alexandria. The rapid advance westward of the empire of the Ottoman Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries closed the first two routes altogether and threatened the third, that by Egypt, making it urgently necessary to find a new and safe way of communication with the East.

It was the southern physical boundary of mediaeval Europe which was first broken, and that by the Portuguese. Prince Henry of Portugal, 'the Navigator', son (by an English mother) of John I, under whom Portugal began to take a place among the principal states of Europe, after the capture of Ceuta from the Moors (1415), set on foot the explorations which developed: (1) geographically, into a search for better knowledge of the western ocean and the African coast; (2) commercially, into the negro slave trade and an attempt to reach the Indies round the south of Africa; and (3) in the spirit of the Crusades, into an effort to turn the flank of the Mohammedan dominions and join hands with the half-true, half-fabled Christian kingdom of 'Prester John' (Abyssinia). The work which Prince Henry had begun was not completed in his lifetime. But by the time of his death in 1460 the thousand-mile desert stretch of African coast where the Sahara reaches the sea had long been passed, and his ships were not far short of Sierra Leone.

By 1471 the Equator was crossed, the Congo was reached in 1484; in 1486–7 Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and ten years later Vasco da Gama, rounding the Cape, sailed up the east coast of Africa and crossed the Indian Ocean to Calicut, a great emporium of the spice trade. Portuguese dominion in the East became firmly established with the governorship of Albuquerque, who seized Goa (1510), and Malacca (1511), and in this way opened a direct trade with

Siam and the ' Spice Islands ' (the Moluccas). To confirm the exclusive right of the Portuguese to the results of their explorations, a Papal Bull of Alexander VI in 1502 constituted the King of Portugal ' lord of the navigation, conquest, and trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India '.

In 1492, however, six years before Vasco da Gama reached Calicut, the physical boundary of mediaeval Europe had been broken through also to the west ; and a new motive for exploration had been created by the desire for territorial sovereignty. Columbus, pushing westward across the Atlantic in search of another way to the Indies, and armed with a letter from their Catholic Majesties of Spain to the Great Khan of Cathay, had discovered America. The views of Columbus as finally presented to the courts of Portugal and Spain were based on his conviction that the world was a sphere, but he both underestimated its size and overestimated the size of the Asiatic continent. As the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Faroes on the northern route pointed the way to Labrador, so, too, farther south, the Canaries (the ' Fortunate Islands ') had been known for centuries, and the Madeira Islands and the Azores had been rediscovered by expeditions of Prince Henry. The lack of chronometers in the fifteenth century made the calculation of longitude very inaccurate ; and it was therefore the custom for navigators to sail due east or west along the parallel of their intended destination. It was thus the aim of Columbus, sailing with the trade-winds, to steer due west from the Canaries, which were a Spanish possession, along the 28th parallel of latitude. This, according to the charts of the day, he reckoned would bring him to the northern end of Cipango (Japan), and he had the courage to count on shaping his return course in reliance on the westerly breezes which are prevalent in more northern latitudes. It was, therefore, at the Bahamas that the *Santa Maria* first sighted land (Watling Island) in the New World (12 October 1492), and it was not until his third

voyage (1498) that the actual continent of South America was discovered.

A Papal Bull of Alexander VI granted to Spain all lands that lay west, to Portugal all lands that lay east, of a line drawn 100 leagues 'towards the west and south' from the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. By the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) this line was moved to 370 leagues west of the same point, which carried it through the Bahamas. Therefore, when the Portuguese admiral, Cabral, driven westward out of his intended course on the Cape route to India, discovered the eastern angle of South America where it juts out nearest to the Old World, forty degrees east of the Line of Demarcation, Brazil became a Portuguese possession. With this single exception, however, the effect of the Papal Bull was to create a monopoly for Spain in the whole of the mighty continent which, in the geographical ideas of the day, stretched from pole to pole across the path of Europe in its westward expansion. It was known, indeed, now, that this continent was not Asia. In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, 'silent upon a peak in Darien', had gazed upon the Pacific stretching beneath him in the Gulf of San Miguel; and in 1519 Magellan had sailed from Spain to settle the rival claims of Spain and Portugal in the East as they had been already settled in the West, and to secure the inclusion, if possible, of the all-important Moluccas in the Spanish sphere. His voyage had conclusively demonstrated that the American continent was separated by a great extent of ocean from Asia. Tierra del Fuego, however, which he discovered, was considered to be part only of a great southern continent, and the Strait which bears his name to be the sole passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and so westward to the Indies. The man who forced this Spanish barrier, and showed it to be no true barrier at all, was Francis Drake.

Like Balboa, Drake too had gazed on the Pacific from Darien, and had vowed one day to sail an English ship on its

waters. In November 1577 the *Golden Hind* or *Pelican* (120 tons), *Elizabeth* (80 tons), *Marigold*, and two other small vessels sailed from Plymouth with the Queen's commission on their voyage of adventure, 'to discover good lands where settlements could be established'. In August of the following year they made the entrance and passage of Magellan's Straits. Once through, however, they were caught by the fierce westerly winds of the great cyclonic systems which are ever passing south of Cape Horn, and were driven back eastward to the Atlantic, not through the Straits, but over the open sea south of the Horn, where till then the great southern continent was thought to extend to the pole. Drake pushed west and north again, taking great toll of Spanish shipping as far as the coast of Oregon, and looking for the western exit of that sea passage round the northern end of America, of which Frobisher and Davis thought they had found the eastern entrance. Failing to find it, he landed to careen his ship, annexed the country for England as 'New Albion', and then steered across the Pacific for the Moluccas, and came home to Plymouth round the Cape of Good Hope, the first captain of any nation to sail his ship round the world.

Now this voyage of Drake, while it is the most important contribution made by the English nation to the Age of the Discoveries, is notable also as combining the old motive of exploration—for Drake did reach the Spice Islands by sailing westward—with the new desire for territorial sovereignty over new lands. We have a good deal of evidence that in the England of that day, however absurd it may sound to our modern ideas, there was thought to be a greater population than the country could support. Gilbert, Raleigh, Hakluyt, and Grenville, and some of the Arctic explorers as well as Drake, had it in mind to search 'for land or for some islands where settlements could be established, because in England there are many inhabitants but little land'. Here then was a powerful impulse for the

founding of an over-seas empire. The one great obstacle to its accomplishment was the sea power of Spain; and thus it is from the defeat by English seamen of the Spanish Armada (1588) that we may date the commencement of the British Empire.

2

How Britain became a Sea Power

In spite of a long tradition and several signal instances of success at sea, and a more or less constant command of the Channel to secure connexion with Calais and the English garrisons in France, mediaeval England was not primarily a sea power. Insular position is not of itself sufficient to make a maritime people; and England in the Middle Ages, though with an equable climate which gave her a hardy population and ice-free ports, and so placed geographically on the shallow Channel and North Sea that the ebb and flow of the tides secured for her good harbours, free from silt, in the mouths of her rivers, yet had to wait long for that maritime development which might have seemed her birthright. In point of fact, besides having, on the side of Scotland, a land frontier with a neighbour generally hostile, England was, from the point of view of physical geography, more correctly a part of the Continent than a separate geographical unit. The plain of Southern England, which made eventually a rich home-base for sea power, is divided only by a narrow channel from the plains of Northern France, the Netherlands, and Northern Germany. Thus it formed the natural terminus for all the great trade routes of mediaeval Europe which led north-westward across the Continent from the Eastern Mediterranean. Except Iceland, all beyond the British Islands was unknown; and until the Age of the Discoveries they stood, in men's

geographical conceptions, at the end of the world. Britain was, in truth, as Shakespeare calls it, the 'utmost corner of the west'. As a result, except when there has been a strong government in the island to organize defence, the people of the English plain have not, as a matter of history, proved able to keep their independence of the peoples in those other greater plains across the Channel. There was historical connexion southward with Gaul under the Roman Empire; then eastward on the fall of Rome, first with Saxons, and then with Danes from either side of the Elbe; and after the Norman Conquest connexion was again made southward, a connexion which lasted for five centuries, and was only finally broken with the loss of Calais in 1558. Till Tudor times London was thus, as H. J. Mackinder has shown, more closely connected with Paris, with Flanders, and with the cities of the Hanseatic League by the tidal waterways of the North Sea, than with Scotland, Wales, or Ireland. Till Tudor times there was practically no Royal Navy; and the shipping of Northern Europe in the Middle Ages was not mainly English, but Flemish, Frisian, Hansard, or Viking. For many centuries of their existence the English were a race of shepherds rather than seamen. It is doubtful, indeed, whether independent national existence would have been possible at all, had it not been that just opposite to Kent in the south-east corner of Britain there is the end of the great line of division between the Latin and Teutonic peoples of the Continent, with their opposed and widely different ideals of civilization; and a little farther eastward still the end also of the other dividing line which since the Reformation has marked off Catholic Europe from Protestant. Thus the coasts most nearly opposite Britain have never, since the failure of the Roman Empire to control them, come for long under one all-powerful rule. It has always been a predominant British interest to prevent this; and it was ultimately upon geographical factors that the

traditional British policy of ' the Balance of Power ' was based. Again and again, against Spain under Philip II, against France under Louis XIV and Napoleon, and against Imperial Germany, Britain has fought to save the liberties of Europe, and to prevent that concentration under one hand of all the great maritime resources of Antwerp, the Dutch ports, and the Elbe, which would have meant the creation of a sea power against which her own could hardly contend.

The Tudor age was the turning-point of English history. The defeat of the Armada marks the beginning of the British Empire ; and it does so because it was the first definite assertion of English superiority not in the Narrow Seas only but on the High Seas of the world. Then, as never so truly before, could Shakespeare speak, as he speaks in *King John*, of

> England, hedged in with the main,
> That water-walled bulwark, still secure
> And confident from foreign purposes ;

or in the magnificent words of John of Gaunt in *King Richard II*, of

> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands :
> . . . . . .
> England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
> Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
> Of watery Neptune.

All this glorious representative outburst of English patriotism was possible just because the Tudor navy had proved that the Narrow Seas could be made an effective barrier against invasion. It is essential to our purpose to understand why it was just then, and not earlier or later, that England took place as primarily a great sea power.

In the first place, coincident with the beginning of the Tudor era came the first of the great discoveries which revolutionized men's conception of the world, and above all showed that the oceans are one. The Battle of Bosworth which brought in the Tudor dynasty was fought in 1485, only two years before Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and seven before Columbus crossed the Atlantic. The effect of those great geographical discoveries was to change the position of Britain from its mediaeval place at the end of the land-ways across Europe to its modern position as the centre of the land masses of the globe. The ocean-ways, too, were found now to converge on the south-west of Britain, as the land-ways had hitherto converged on the south-east. The mouth of the St. Lawrence lies several degrees south of the west end of the English channel, as Cape St. Vincent lies several degrees west ; and from them both the routes of ocean traffic lead naturally towards the great bay formed between the Arctic ice and the edge of the continent of Europe, where Britain stands across the path to the Netherlands, to Germany, and to the lands of the Baltic beyond. The first effect of the discoveries was thus to place England in a position most favourable for the development of sea power and of that maritime commerce upon which alone a powerful navy can be based.

Secondly, important developments in shipbuilding had in the meantime gradually been taking place, which resulted in producing a type of vessel much more suited than any before it for the needs of this new oceanic commerce and sea power. The typical ship of war of the Middle Ages was the galley, with one bank of oars, obviously specially adapted to the land-locked Mediterranean. The ship of commerce was the round-ship, or hulk, with a length only twice its beam. The effect of the Crusades, however, was to quicken the desire for enterprise both in the East and in other directions. This in turn led to

constant improvement in seamanship and sea-going vessels; and, as a result, about the fifteenth century the Italian naval architects of Venice and Genoa began to build a new type, the galleon, a sailing-ship, though it had originally auxiliary oar-propulsion, for use in the confined waters of the Mediterranean, which had length, in comparison to the round-ship, of three times its beam. The galleon met the double demand that existed for a sailing-ship of war that could work with galleys, and for a merchant ship fast enough and powerful enough to be secure from pirates. In the north, first, probably, in France, then in England and in Scotland, the new type was eagerly taken up. The reigns of the successive Tudor monarchs saw successive advances in shipbuilding; and gradually the sailing galleon, with broadside fire of a heavy weight of metal, became established as the ship of war of the northern nations. In comparison Spanish naval architects were backward. Galleys formed part even of the Armada in 1588: and that great expedition was out-manœuvred and out-gunned by a fleet superior in numbers (English 197 ships, Spanish 132), vastly handier, and manned and commanded by seamen who had gained their experience, not in the restricted waters of the Mediterranean, but on the ocean highways of the world.

Thirdly, the Tudor period saw both the end of the English attempts at continental empire, and the withdrawal of that constant menace of Scottish inroad which for centuries had weighed like a nightmare on the northern English shires. Mediaeval England had found that the two facts of the physical barrier of the hill frontier between the two kingdoms, and the geographical problem of distance from their main base in south-east England, at which English armies invading Scotland had to operate, made a conquest of Scotland a most difficult undertaking, so that even Edward I in the thirteenth century had been compelled to transfer the centre of his government from London to York. When these were combined with the

sturdy Scottish national resistance and the constant drain of English resources to their wars in France, the permanent subjection of her troublesome northern neighbour became a task beyond England's power. On the other hand, their common adoption of Protestantism, and their common danger from the might and ambitions of Spain, had, by the time of Elizabeth, begun to bring home to both countries the conviction that the influences urging them together were stronger than those holding them apart. Consequently, when there was added the historical accident by which the King of Scots fell heir to the English throne, they were found ready to attempt to realize, in some degree at any rate, that common British nationality which had been made possible for them by the Tudor navy's command of the Narrow Seas. Thus, with the north no longer endangered, England could concentrate her efforts economically on the defence of her south-east and south-west quadrants, where the land and sea-ways respectively converged, and by reducing in this way the reserve of men and material required for the protection of the home-land, she could devote her energies and initiative to spreading her trade and rule abroad.

Lastly (though this was a factor which was at first of only minor importance), the geographical situation of Britain gave her many advantages in wars with the countries of the Continent which became her rivals in sea power. On the one side she faced Holland and the northern naval Powers, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, on the other side France [1] and Spain; and when threatened by coalition between them her fleets in the Downs and the Channel, and even off Brest, occupied interior positions. This they did yet more effectually because on the English side of the Channel are the better ports and a shore-line

[1] Dunkirk was suitable as a base only for cruisers and commerce destroyers; and until after the Napoleonic Wars France had no harbour for ships-of-the-line farther east than Brest.

safer to approach than on the French; and sailing-ships passing through the Channel for preference hugged the English coast.

Such then were the main causes of the rise of English sea power during the Tudor epoch. What were its results? By the ocean highways from the south-west Britain during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries drew wealth from her overseas dominions, which she spent eastwards in subsidies to maintain the balance of power and thus the liberties of Europe.

'Who can deny', asks the American historian of sea power, 'that the government which with one hand strengthened its fainting allies on the continent with the life-blood of money, and with the other drove its own enemies off the sea and out of their chief possessions, Canada, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Havana, Manila, gave to its country the foremost rôle in European politics; and who can fail to see that the power which dwelt in that government, with a land narrow in extent and poor in resources, sprang directly from the sea?'[1]

3

British North America

1. *Exploration and Settlement.*

Geographical position was the chief factor which caused the first efforts at English colonization and dominion in the New World to be made in North America. The discovery of America which had been made by the Norsemen in the eleventh century had come in the natural course of the great Scandinavian expansion in the Viking Age. Iceland had been reached

[1] Captain A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*, pp. 64–5.

in 874, Greenland in 982. Then in 1000 Leif, son of Eric the Red, the discoverer of Greenland, sailing from Norway with a commission from King Olaf Tryggvasion to convert his countrymen to Christianity, was carried out of his course on to the American coast. After his return to Greenland, an Icelander, Thorfinn Karlsefni, set out in 1003 to found a colony, reaching first Helluland (? Labrador), then Markland (? Newfoundland), lastly Vinland (? Nova Scotia). In 1006, however, the colony returned to Greenland; an attempt made in 1121 by Bishop Eric of Greenland to reach America was apparently unsuccessful; and knowledge of the very existence of the continent seems to have been lost.

The glory of its re-discovery might well have fallen to England, instead of to Spain, for Columbus had sent his brother to the court of Henry VII to explain his beliefs and projects, but Henry had not listened. Five years after Columbus's voyage, however, in 1497, Henry had become convinced; and John Cabot, born at Genoa but a citizen of Venice, who had settled in Bristol, then the great seaport of the west of England, was sent with one Bristol ship westward on the first English transatlantic voyage. Cabot's instructions excluded the southern route which had been followed by Columbus, probably to avoid what would have been poaching on Spanish and Portuguese preserves. He sailed, accordingly, north and then west, approximately along the 54th parallel, on a course which, in consequence of the general convergence of the European and North American continents towards the north, was not much more than half that of Columbus—about 2,000 miles, with luck a fifteen days' voyage. As against this advantage, the prevailing currents of ocean and air were contrary. The natural result of such a course was the re-discovery of Newfoundland and Labrador, lost to knowledge since the Norsemen's voyages of the eleventh century. His land-fall was probably Cape Breton Island. But the passage to

Cathay, which had been hoped for, had not been found; and Cabot's voyage, though repeated with five ships in 1498, was, like those of the Vikings, not followed up with much enthusiasm, largely because of the harsh climatic conditions and bleak coasts which were all the explorers could report. Fishing fleets from the south-west of England, however, joined with French fishermen from Brittany and Normandy, Spanish Basques from the Bay of Biscay, and Portuguese during the summer months of the year to exploit the Banks of Newfoundland.

The range of English exploration in the New World, when under Henry VIII it came to be resumed, was roughly south of what had been the Norse, north of the French, and far north of the Spanish spheres, much as might have been expected from the direction of the trade-winds and the respective geographical position of these nations in Europe. Partly as a result of this, and partly because of the claims already 'staked out' by Spain, English settlements, when these began to be made, though they were mostly south of the French, were made under climatic conditions not very dissimilar from those the settlers had enjoyed at home, thus allowing the full development of a European type of civilization. This was not possible for the Spanish and Portuguese states which grew up in a more tropical climate farther south. These English settlements, too, were made in regions sparsely inhabited by wandering tribes. The native population of the whole of North America at the time of its discovery has been estimated at approximately 1,140,000, of whom 860,000 were within the present limits of the United States. In South and Central America the Europeans could only live, though supreme, in the midst of a great native population; north of Mexico the native races have been supplanted by the European, so that they are now in numbers quite insignificant.

It is possible that it was in one of the voyages of the

Cabots that discovery was made of Hudson Strait, the entrance to Hudson Bay, that great 'Mediterranean Sea of North America'. There is at any rate an opening corresponding to its position shown on Cabot's planisphere of 1544, as also on the Map of the World of Ortelius, published in 1570. Hudson Strait, too, must have been entered in 1577 by Martin Frobisher on his second voyage in search of the North-West Passage to Cathay which men were convinced must exist, corresponding to the South-West Passage traversed by Magellan. Cape Chidley, the island which is the south point of the eastern entrance to the Strait, was named by Davis on his third voyage (1587) on the same 'will-o'-the-wisp' quest. Hudson Strait is 500 miles long and on an average 100 miles wide; and it is small wonder if the sailors of the eastern hemisphere, unaccustomed to the gigantic geographical proportions of the New World, were convinced that here they had found at last the object of their search. It was, therefore, probably, the knowledge of the existence of this Strait, which came to be called by his name, that led Henry Hudson to attempt further exploration in this direction when in 1610 his expedition, equipped at the expense of some merchants of London, sailed in the *Discovery* in search of a navigable passage to 'the South Sea'. He had already made his name as a daring Arctic explorer by his attempts, in 1607 and 1608, to reach India and China by sailing across the North Pole or by a North-East Passage round the north of Asia; and in the service of the Dutch East India Company had explored the Hudson River where there was made later the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam. He now pushed on through Hudson Strait into Hudson Bay and wintered his ship in the vicinity of James Bay, only to be turned adrift there in a small boat to perish by his ill-treated and mutinous crew when the following summer freed the *Discovery* from the ice. His ship, however, brought back to Gravesend the news of his explorations, rousing high hopes

that the north-west way to Cathay and the Indies had been definitely found at last—hopes which were not finally abandoned till further expeditions had been sent out in 1612, 1614, 1615, 1619, and 1631, adding much to knowledge of the geography of Hudson Bay, but failing, naturally, to discover the North-West Passage. There the matter for a while rested, till practical outcome was given to all the previous work of exploration by the grant made by Charles II in 1670 to Prince Rupert and the Company of Adventurers trading to Hudson Bay, of exclusive trading rights in all lands that might be discovered in the neighbourhood of Hudson Bay, and the history of the famous Hudson Bay Company was thus begun.

In 1562 John Hawkins had entered on the contraband slave trade between the African Guinea coast and the Spanish settlements in the New World. The Carib races whom the Spaniards had found in Cuba and Hispaniola had died off rapidly in contact with western civilization; and to replace them Portuguese factories for the slave trade had been established on the Guinea coast. But the trade was a government monopoly with a 30 per cent. duty, which raised the price to the settlers and restricted the supply, and from 1562 till 1567 the Spaniards in the American settlements were very willing that Hawkins should bring them slaves at a cheaper than the government price. It was in this adventurous traffic that Francis Drake first began to make his name. But there were also more solid motives at work which urged the English to seek settlements overseas as well as trade. The loss of Calais in 1558 had finally closed any hope of a continental empire; and in compensation men sought to find homes for the superfluous English population partly by plantation in Ireland, partly in America. To the New World north of the Gulf of Mexico, the claim of Spain had, except in Florida, never been made good, and, at any rate by England, had never been admitted. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the half-brother

of Raleigh, sailed with seven ships from Plymouth to found a settlement in the problematical land of 'Norumbega', and proclaimed Newfoundland as England's first colony. In 1584 was formed Raleigh's design to colonize Virginia. With these ventures, and in the half-chivalrous, half-scientific personality of Raleigh, the second period of English enterprise overseas—the Stuart period—one of colonization—is linked with the earlier Tudor epoch of knight-errantry and buccaneers. Raleigh's early English colonists still aimed, like the Spaniards, at the acquisition of the precious metals, with a minimum of labour for themselves.

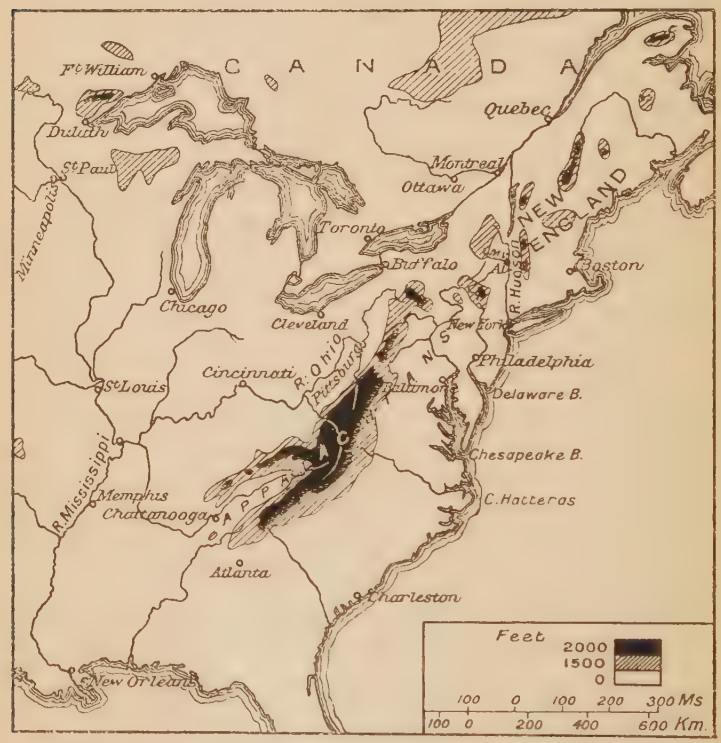
> And cheerfully at sea
> Success you still entice
> *To get the pearl and gold,*
> And ours to hold
> *Virginia,*
> Earth's only paradise.

Such was the ideal of Michael Drayton in his poem, *To the Virginian Voyage*. It was only after 1607 under the guidance of John Smith that settlers who came in that year to the James River deliberately chose in agriculture a more laborious but a more common-sense and enduring basis for the development of their colony. As a result, in a hundred and fifty years' time permanent English settlements held a narrow strip of American coastline almost continuously from Nova Scotia in the north to Georgia.

2. *The Duel with France.*

From Alabama north-eastward to New York State, and thence continued beyond the valley of the St. Lawrence as far as Newfoundland, stretches a system of parallel ridges and valleys, which form the great mountain barrier, 300 miles wide, of the Appalachians. Rugged and clothed with primaeval forest and dense undergrowth, and covered from November till early April in snow, the Appalachians were as a whole an obstacle to

human movement westward which was almost always discouraging and sometimes nearly impassable. Where the mountains form the westward boundary of Virginia, they are known as the Blue Ridge. It is densely wooded, and rises from



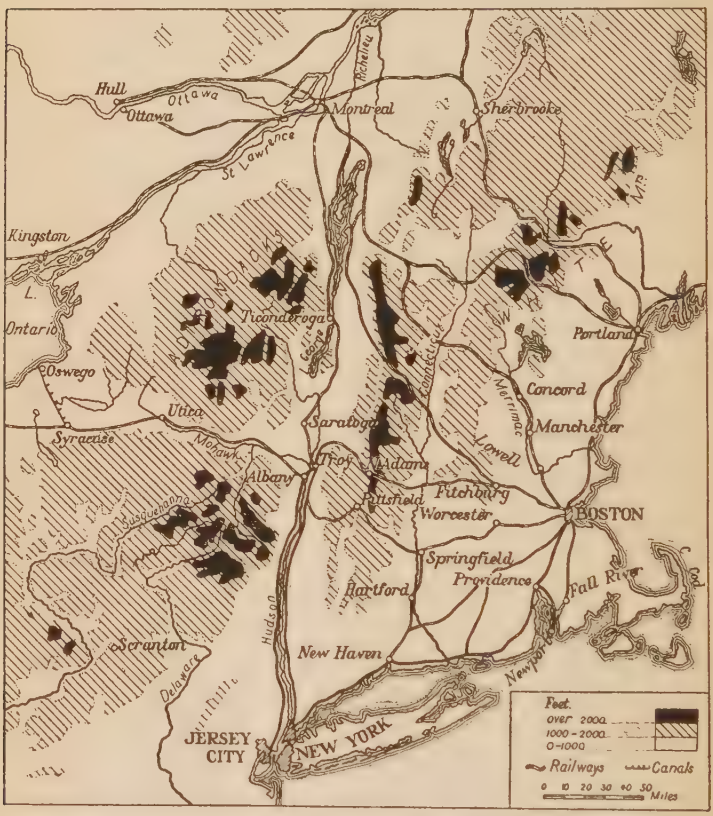
THE APPALACHIANS and the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys.

2,000 to 6,000 feet in height, though here as often elsewhere the head-waters of the rivers when followed up lead to low passes. East again of the Blue Ridge, in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, is a belt of hilly country of varying width, known as the Piedmont Region. Across it flow the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the James, and many other streams. Falls

or swift reaches amounting to 200 feet of descent mark the 'Fall Line', where the rivers leave this hilly region for the flat Atlantic coastal plain, the 'tidewater' district of Maryland and Virginia; and at this Fall Line, at the head of navigation and close to water power, grew up Baltimore, Washington, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, Raleigh, Camden, Columbia. East of the Fall Line much of the country was low and swampy, and so thickly wooded that it was easier to make use of the many water highways than to construct roads. This again is the district of the Atlantic coastal plain. Natural conditions, with the prevalence of tobacco and slave labour, here favoured a scattered, rural life.

It might seem as if the Appalachian chain, from Newfoundland to Alabama, was a barrier which was irrevocably to shut off the eastern coast and the English and Dutch settlers who established themselves there from any easy intercourse with the heart of the continent. But it is cut by two important waterways. The first of these is the great valley of the St. Lawrence, which became the French road to the West in that duel for empire which, throughout the eighteenth century, was fought out between France and Britain; the second is the Mohawk Gap. In North America the first settlements of both countries had nearly coincided in time. In 1534 a French expedition under Cartier entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence; the next year he sailed up the river to the spot where Montreal now stands. In 1608 Champlain began the settlement which was to become Quebec. Between 1627 and 1663 the development of the new colony was entrusted to a 'Company of New France', which received a monopoly of trade. The experiment proved a failure, and New France became a royal province. In 1682 the Chevalier de la Salle descended the Mississippi to its mouth, and took possession of its valley for France under the name of Louisiana. This was the beginning of the attempt of the French to shut in their English rivals on the narrow strip

of Atlantic seaboard. In 1696 the victory of Frontenac over the Iroquois, who had attempted to cut off the French from Lake Ontario, reopened the most direct route westwards by



THE HUDSON-CHAMPLAIN VALLEY AND THE MOHAWK GAP.

the Great Lakes. In 1701 was founded Detroit, to command the route from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, as Fort St. Marie and Michilimackinac already commanded the approaches to Lakes Superior and Michigan. In 1718 New Orleans was founded

at the mouth of the Mississippi, and a line of French forts built which linked up Louisiana with the Great Lakes. The French trade route between Montreal and New Orleans, at first by Lakes Huron and Michigan, and the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, was then brought progressively eastwards, closing in towards the Appalachians, first to Lakes Ontario and Erie and the Wabash River, then about 1750 to the Ohio. But enterprising as were the French *voyageurs* and *coureurs-de-bois*, they could not supply the elements of close and permanent settlement. Furthermore, where such settlement was to be found, in the *seigneuries* along the St. Lawrence, rough and wooded highlands on both sides approach close to the waterway, giving no support for a large population. The French colonies thus, half perforce, half deliberately, remained military—settlements of soldiers, with a few priests, hunters, and fur-traders. They were well organized for war, but—except along the St. Lawrence—scattered, and without the resources at hand to carry on a prolonged campaign. In others words, they were dependent for existence on the maintenance of sea communications with Europe.

The English colonies, in contrast, were settlements of farmers, mostly Puritans, Roman Catholics, or others in search of religious liberty. This is not, it is true, the spirit which had actuated the early adventurers, the Cabots, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh, or the founders of Virginia; but to Virginia were soon added New England, Maryland, Carolina, and later Pennsylvania. In this way, though the English colonies were completely lacking in military organization, they were to a very great extent self-sufficient and concentrated, and the relative size of their population as compared with that of the French colonies rendered the result of a struggle, in the long run, a foregone conclusion, if the French could expect no aid from Europe. It was estimated that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, while the white population of French

America was not more than 100,000, that of British America was 1,250,000. On the other hand, it seemed at first that the English colonies in New England and Maryland were to be permanently separated from those farther south by Dutch and Swedish settlements. The Dutch, who eventually absorbed the Swedes, had established themselves at New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island in 1614, and had, by way of the Hudson and Lake Champlain, a means of communication with the French. It was thus a most important factor in the future history of North America that in 1674, in exchange for the surrender of Surinam, the acquiescence of Holland was secured to the New Netherlands, which had been captured in 1664, remaining British territory. With the New Netherlands, which now became New York, the British incidentally took over from the Dutch friendly relations with the Five Nation Indians.

The significance of this addition to British North America was threefold. In the first place the territory was a necessary connecting link between New England and Maryland; in the second, the great waterway of the Hudson, Lake Champlain, and the Richelieu, which the Dutch had till then controlled, led straight from the heart of the now consolidated English settlements to Montreal, in the centre of the French settlements; and in the third place it gave to the English the only effective waterway westwards through the Appalachian barrier which was alternative to the St. Lawrence route, then in hostile French hands. Some 20 miles above the head of tidal water on the Hudson, at Albany, is the open road to the west formed by the valley of the Mohawk, a western tributary of the Hudson. It is a vast gap, 1,500 to 2,000 feet deep, between the Adirondack and Helderberg mountains to north and south respectively, several miles wide, and 90 miles long from Schenectady to Rome, where are reached the fertile plains lying east of Lake Ontario, which formed the celebrated 'Long House' of the Iroquois Confederacy, the 'Five Nations'. The Mohawks in the rich

valley which bears their name were 'keepers' of its eastern gateway. The French had tried, both at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain and from the west, from Ontario, to master this great highway. Their failure meant that there was secured to the future United States the only road to the west which crossed the Appalachians at a moderate altitude.

The Peace of Utrecht in 1713 secured to Great Britain the surrender of all French claims to Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia (Nova Scotia). The loss of Acadia, one of the granaries of Canada, was a serious one for France, but at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island she still had an important naval base near the entrance to the St. Lawrence; and with strategical insight the French recognized that the forks of the Ohio (Pittsburg), with Fort Niagara, formed the key of the West. Thus in 1754 the erection of Fort Duquesne on the Ohio completed a chain of communication with Presque Isle on Lake Erie and Niagara, which threatened to hem the British in behind the Alleghanies. At the same time the erection of a fort at Crown Point (1730) gave France command over the important waterway of Lake Champlain and the Hudson. But the British colonies were now becoming alive to their danger; and, while the Seven Years' War fully occupied the energies of France in Europe, the co-operation of British naval and military power overthrew the French dominion in Canada.

There were four main lines by which an attack might be made upon Canada. These were (1) up the St. Lawrence—this route was rendered difficult by the French possession of Louisbourg; (2) up the Hudson River to Lake George and Lake Champlain and down the Richelieu to the St. Lawrence below Montreal—the French fort at Crown Point commanded this route; (3) up the Hudson and the Mohawk to Lake Oneida and Lake Ontario; (4) westward through a gap in the ridge of the Alleghanies between the head-waters of the Potomac and the Youghiogeny to Fort Duquesne.

In 1745 Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, had organized an expedition which captured Louisbourg, but much to the indignation of the colonists this fortress had in 1748 been restored to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in exchange for Madras. In 1754, two years before the official outbreak of the Seven Years' War, hostilities in America were resumed, this time on the fourth-mentioned route. Fort Cumberland had been built near the head of the Potomac, 100 miles to the west of the British frontier settlement of Winchester, and George Washington now pushed westward still farther, as did Braddock's force a year later, to secure the western approaches to the Alleghanies which were threatened by the French at Fort Duquesne. Both expeditions disastrously failed; and the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, 500 miles in length, lay open to the attack of hordes of Indians in French pay, to meet which a series of block-houses had to be built. In addition, the failure of Braddock allowed the French to reinforce their garrisons on the second and third possible lines of invasion, so that on these too the British attempts came to nothing. They did, however, build Fort William Henry on the Hudson–Champlain route to oppose the French at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and by Fort Williams and Fort Bull (Stanwix) in the Mohawk Gap kept open communications between Albany and the post which they held at Oswego on Lake Ontario.

In the middle of 1756 war broke out officially between France and Great Britain, the former destroying Fort Bull and capturing Oswego in that year, and Fort William Henry in 1757, while bungling and disunion neutralized the efforts of the superior British forces. In 1758, however, the genius of Pitt had control, and the tide was turned. Bradstreet pushed up the Mohawk valley to Oswego, crossed Lake Ontario to Fort Frontenac, and cut off the French garrisons of the west from eastern Canada. This made untenable Fort Duquesne,

and with its occupation by the British, who renamed it Fort Pitt (Pittsburg), the French power in the Ohio valley was broken. Louisbourg, too, which had been the connecting link between Canada and the French naval bases in the West Indian Islands, fell to Amherst and Wolfe; and only on the Lake Champlain front did the French under Montcalm more than hold their own. Then in the year following came converging attacks on Canada under Wolfe and Admiral Saunders up the St. Lawrence from Louisbourg; under Amherst from Fort William Henry to Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and under Prideaux and Sir William Johnson up the Mohawk to Niagara. Wolfe's capture of Quebec meant the loss of Canada to France, and it was followed inevitably in 1760 by the loss of Montreal. The whole of Canada by the treaty of Paris in 1763 passed to Great Britain.

3. *The Break with the United States.*

It is certain that, when the War of Independence broke out in 1775, separation from the Mother Country was not desired by a majority of the colonists. It was estimated by good authorities at the time that, when the Americans took up arms, less than a fifth aimed at independence; and that a third of the whole population, a half in some of the southern colonies, was throughout opposed to it. But, once started on the path of resistance, the logic of events and the influence of geographical conditions carried them on to the completion of their Revolution. Apart from the natural difference in character between the type of man who goes abroad and the man who stays at home, the New England group of colonies, which was the centre of resistance, and comprised about a third of the whole population, was the home of descendants of the Puritans, strictly Sabbatarian, hating extravagance and gambling, relatively well educated, hardened in the French and Indian wars, and in the main freeholders, cultivating their own land.

The differences in type which had marked their forefathers before they left their English homes had been emphasized and increased by differences in their new country of climate, soil, and economic methods, and hence of political and social ideals. More tangible geographical factors, too, were on their side. America was 3,000 miles distant from Europe, and three months were required to get an answer to a message; its seaboard extended for more than a thousand miles so as to make difficult a blockade; while the Appalachian barrier gave considerable protection in the rear against the western Indians, who were on the whole British allies. Lastly, this vast and difficult territory was inhabited by a population which probably exceeded two millions, of whom most of the men between the ages of 16 and 60 were more or less accustomed to the use of arms. It was, therefore, almost inevitable that, the ever-present danger from France having been once for all removed by the conquest of Canada, when political and commercial discontent led the colonists first into armed resistance, they should drift still farther into a declaration of their independence. Indeed, had they been united in resistance, the task of recovery of the revolted colonies, even without the aid they received from France, would have proved beyond the resources of the British crown. They were not, however, so united; and as the result the issue of the war hung more than once in the balance, being finally decided only by the assistance of French sea power.

The war falls into two periods. In the first of these the great military effort of the British was to isolate New England from the middle and southern colonies by securing the Hudson–Champlain route, which had come so prominently into the geography of the Seven Years' War. They held at New York and Montreal the two ends of this route, which is about the same length as the distance between London and Edinburgh, its highest point only 147 feet above sea-level. But the

intended co-operation of Burgoyne, who marched south from Canada, with Clinton, who ascended the Hudson from New York, failed, largely because the British had not previously taken an opportunity of garrisoning a half-way post at Albany. Burgoyne's communications with Canada were cut by a flank attack from New England, and he was compelled to surrender to the Americans at Saratoga (16th October 1777). This event decided the entrance of France into the war on the side of the colonists, while the British efforts became henceforth mainly concentrated on the southern colonies, where the greatest proportion of the population was in their favour. France gave invaluable aid to the Americans in troops, money, and supplies; but it was not in her interests that the war should end too quickly, before her own ends were assured; and her naval efforts were at first directed rather against British possessions in the West Indies than in co-operation with the land forces on the American continent. Thus, at first, the local naval superiority of the British fleet enabled them to capture Charleston and Savannah, and to reduce Georgia in 1779, South Carolina in 1780. The war was brought to a conclusion only when the arrival in the Chesapeake of the French fleet under de Grasse, in superior strength, enabled the Americans to invest the position of Cornwallis on the peninsula of Yorktown in Virginia by sea as well as by land, and thus brought about his surrender.

In the Great War which involved all Europe at the commencement of the nineteenth, as at the commencement of the twentieth century, the United States, after a period of neutrality, finally entered the war, on both occasions, in opposition to the side which interfered most with neutral maritime commerce. This was, in 1917, Germany, but in 1812 Great Britain. The population of the States had grown from three millions, at the time of the War of Independence, to seven; and as up till the temporary cessation of the Napoleonic War in

1814 British military resources were fully employed in Europe, Canada, left largely to fend for herself, was inevitably thrown almost entirely on the defensive. Maine and New Hampshire were largely primaeval wilderness, so that the possible frontage for military operations was once again from Lake Champlain to Presque Isle (now Erie) and westwards to Detroit. Here natural conditions to some extent helped the Canadians, by giving them in the St. Lawrence a secure line of communication with Quebec and with England, and in the peninsula which juts out into American territory between Georgian Bay and Lake Huron on the one side, and on the other, Lakes Erie and Ontario, the possibility of operating ' on interior lines ', and moving as it were on the chord of an arc while the Americans moved on the circumference. They were aided also at first by British naval superiority on the Great Lakes. Thus on Detroit and Niagara rivers, between the west end of Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair, and the east end of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, where this Canadian peninsula touches on United States territory, there was heavy fighting for the possession of each isthmus, as a step towards the naval control of the Lakes.

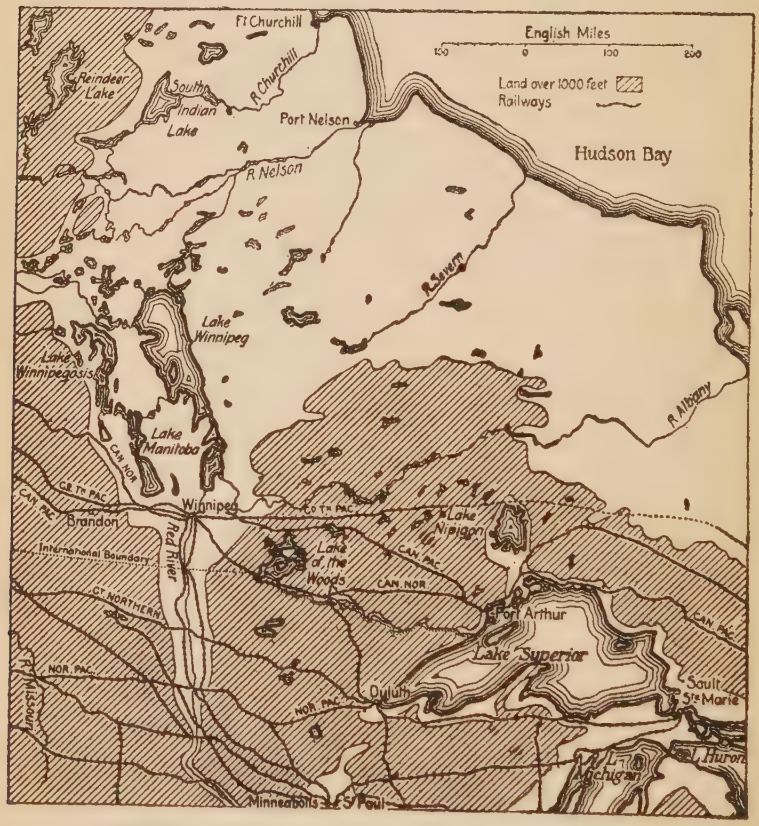
At sea, too, the British navy was able to blockade the American ports, not sufficiently effectively, however, to prevent the incessant attacks of American privateers upon British commerce, and it was probably fortunate for Wellington's army in Spain that the break with the States had not come four years earlier. Thus Canada was enabled to hold out till the Peace of 1814 in Europe set free British reinforcements, and a series of combined naval and military expeditions could be undertaken. One such unsuccessfully attempted invasion of the States by the Lake Champlain route ; another from Jamaica failed to take New Orleans ; a third entered Chesapeake Bay and was carried up the Potomac to Alexandria, whence, after defeating American militia at Bladensburg, it captured Washington. But with the enormous area of the United States even the capture of the

capital was an injury only skin-deep, and the mass of the country during the war, whether in the case of the States or Canada, was practically undisturbed.

4. *The Growth of Canada.*

The United States were lost to the Empire, but meantime there had been growing up in Canada a new British North America which was more than to fill their place. The history of Canada, like that of the United States, is a record of westward expansion. This expansion in Canada rested upon two different geographical bases. The first was the great waterway of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes which was the legacy won for Britain by the Seven Years' War. The second was the Hudson Bay basin, of nearly one and a half million square miles, in which since 1670 Prince Rupert's Company of Adventurers in the fur trade had been established. Tidewater navigation up the Gulf of St. Lawrence extends for 700 miles to above Montreal, where the La Chine Rapids have made necessary the construction of the first of the eight canals which complete a continuous waterway for 2,384 miles to the head of Lake Superior. From there again navigation by canoe is possible, with interruptions, by Rainy Lake and Rainy River, Winnipeg Lake and River, and the North Saskatchewan River almost to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. This main waterway was the natural route of the French *voyageurs* to the west. An alternative and more direct route, often used when the Iroquois were on the war-path and thus threatened the first route, was from Montreal up the Ottawa River across portages to Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay, and so again to the Great Lakes at Lake Huron. Up till the middle of the seventeenth century no white man is known to have reached the western end of Lake Superior. In 1661 two French explorers, Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médant Chouart, coasted along its southern shore and wintered among the

Sioux of Mille Lacs in Minnesota; and sixteen or seventeen years later Du Lhut made his way via the head of Lake Superior to the Mississippi. The first attempt, however, to explore



NORTH AMERICA, the Central Plains, Northern part.

the waterways from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, which the Indians spoke of as 'the Western Sea', was made by Jacques de Noyon, who discovered what later became the Kaministikwia Portage Route, by the Kaministikwia River,

Lac des Mille Lacs, and Sturgeon Lake, to Rainy Lake, and thence accompanied a war party of Assiniboine Indians as far as the Lake of the Woods. In 1722 is first mentioned the alternative route from Lake Superior to Rainy Lake by Pigeon River, which later became the famous Grand Portage Route to Lake Winnipeg. Grand Portage Route continued in use as the chief trade route to the west till the end of the eighteenth century, when it was found that Grand Portage itself was in United States territory, and the more northerly Kaministikwia Portage was rediscovered and adopted in its place (1801). By Grand Portage Route was made in 1731 the first determined effort to explore westward of Lake Superior by La Vérendrye. From that time till 1740 he travelled a vast region till then unknown, erected forts on Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, and on the Winnipeg and Assiniboine Rivers, and thus drew much trade in furs away from the British Hudson Bay Company. It was probably in 1743 that La Vérendrye the younger succeeded at last in sighting the Rocky Mountains.

The Great Lakes and the low plains of the Saskatchewan had thus carried the early explorers from French Canada three-fourths of the way across the continent to the foot of the Rockies without setting any serious natural obstacles in their way. In the meantime the rivalry which had taken place from soon after 1670 between the English Company on Hudson Bay and French trappers and fur-traders who came north overland had been settled definitely by the Peace of Utrecht (1713), which gave the whole of the Hudson Bay territories to England. The whole of the original Canadian North-West, that is, the vast extent of territory which now forms the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, was really, up till about 1860, more accessible by sea from England through Hudson Strait, during the months when it was free of ice, and thence by canoe up the inland waterways, than from any of

the centres of civilization on the American continent. The severity of the climate, too, encouraged the nomadic fur trade, rather than slower agricultural settlement. The Indians had at first brought furs to the Hudson Bay Company's posts; but British merchants, who after the Conquest of Canada came to Montreal and in 1784 united as the North-West Company, sent their *voyageurs* to rediscover the old French routes to the west, going to seek the fur trade instead of waiting for it to come to them. This forced the Hudson Bay Company also to adopt the policy of establishing inland posts, such as Cumberland House in 1774; and the Agents of both companies were ever carrying their posts farther westward. Men like Mackenzie and Fraser from Hudson Bay were thus the first to push over the passes of the Rockies, which in Canada are considerably lower than in the United States, and to explore beyond them in British Columbia, which Vancouver in 1792–3 also explored from the sea. Thus early in British Canadian history the Pacific coast was reached by the great trading companies.

In 1784 the United Empire Loyalists, who preferred to continue to live under British rule rather than that of the now independent United States, had emigrated, to the number of about 40,000, and settled in what are now the Provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick as well as in Nova Scotia, which had had representative institutions since 1758. Kingston in Ontario was a Loyalist settlement on the site of Fort Frontenac. French and Loyalists together held Canada for Britain when war came again with the United States in 1812. New Brunswick, which with Nova Scotia had made up the old French-Canadian colony of Acadia, was in 1784 constituted a separate province, and at a later date Cape Breton Island became part of Nova Scotia. Prince Edward Island became a separate government in 1770. Upper Canada (now Ontario), the country along the northern shores of the Great Lakes and of the Upper St.

Lawrence, and Lower Canada (now Quebec), which was the main basin of the St. Lawrence, were in 1791 formed by an Act of the British Parliament as two more separate provinces, which also received representative institutions. The population of the whole country was then about 160,000, Lower Canada containing the majority and being predominantly French. Under the influence of the industrial and social unrest which followed Waterloo a steady flow of Scottish and English emigrants came to make new homes across the Atlantic, the Red River Settlement of Lord Selkirk (1812–20) being settled from the Highlands of Scotland. This meant that settlers had reached the border of the Canadian North-West, and it became realized that the Hudson Bay Company had open to it a source of wealth other than the fur trade. Settlement was at first actively opposed, even to bloodshed, by the North-West Company; but in 1821 the North-West Company was absorbed by the Hudson Bay Company, and the westward advance of agricultural settlement over the Great Plains began.

In 1841 on the recommendation of a Special Report by Lord Durham Upper and Lower Canada were united; in 1848 full responsible government came into operation; and finally in 1867, by the British North America Act, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were constituted a Federal Self-governing Dominion. Newfoundland, which might have been expected to come in, was not included, and has continued to stand outside the union. At this time the whole population had increased to about 3,400,000. Meantime, in the west beyond the Rockies, which Canadians were beginning to look upon as a natural sphere for their westward expansion, both Great Britain and the United States advanced claims to what was known as Oregon Territory, and comprised the present American states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, as well as British Columbia. War was even on the horizon;

but in 1846 the dispute was settled by the extension of the existing boundary line east of the Rockies due west to the channel between the mainland and Vancouver Island, giving the whole of Vancouver Island to Great Britain. The domains of the Hudson Bay Company still separated British Columbia from Canada, but in 1869 the Canadian Government acquired by purchase the territorial rights of the Company over the North-West Territories; and in spite of the rebellion which broke out in consequence under Riel, the Red River district was admitted in 1870 into the Dominion as the Province of Manitoba, with Winnipeg, the old Fort Garry of the Trading Company days, as its capital. Prince Edward Island followed in 1873; and in 1905 the Prairie Lands also became the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. These three, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, roughly correspond to three natural divisions of the prairie-steppe, respectively from 500 feet to 1,000, from 1,000 to 2,000, and from 2,000 to 5,000 feet above sea-level. In 1871 British Columbia also had entered the Dominion, but, cut off as she was by the lofty barrier of the Rockies, had stipulated that railway communication should be provided across the continent.

It is, in fact, really the railways that have made possible a Canadian nation. Long as was the journey from the homeland in the first half of the nineteenth century (the average voyage from Plymouth to Quebec in 1840 being well over forty days), imperfections of communication in the colony itself were hardly less formidable. Even the main roads were deplorable, especially in winter, and the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes route was complicated by rapids and interfered with by winter frosts. 'Far into the Victoria era', writes a Canadian historian, 'Canada, whether French or British, was a dislocated community, with settlements set apart from each other as much by mud, swamp, and woodland, as by

distance.'[1] Geographically, too, there were few natural physical factors providing a frontier within which a Canadian nationality might be expected to spring up. The boundary with the United States is largely an artificial one, cutting across natural geographical features. It is certainly true that the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes do form something of a natural international boundary; and the 49th parallel of latitude, which continues the frontier westwards, roughly marks the water-parting between the Mississippi–Missouri basin and Hudson Bay. But, on the other hand, in the east the Maritime Provinces form part of the Appalachian mountain system; their natural market is in New England, and they are divided by the wilderness of northern New Brunswick and Maine from Ontario and Quebec. These in turn lie nearer to New York than to either Halifax or Winnipeg, and are separated by vast stretches of barren lands north of Lake Superior from the Prairie Provinces, part of the great plains of the Central United States which extend north into Canada. In the west the frontier line cuts across the Rocky Mountains, which thus isolate British Columbia from all the rest of Canada. It was the railways which were to make and did make Canada one. In 1876 the Inter-colonial Railway from Quebec to Halifax had been opened. The condition on which British Columbia had come into the Dominion in 1871 had been that a trans-continental railway should be completed within ten years. Many delays and political complications intervened, but the last spike was eventually driven home at Craigellachie on the 7th November 1885. The Canadian Pacific Railway crosses the Rockies to Vancouver by the Kicking Horse and Rogers Passes. Two other trans-continental lines, the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railways, which were constructed subsequently, crossed them farther north by the Yellowhead Pass,

[1] J. L. Morison, *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839–54*, p. 12.

serving thus to develop fresh areas. But all three lines necessarily passed through Winnipeg, only about sixty miles from the United States frontier, which has thus been called 'the wasp's waist' of Canada. This lack of depth was partly remedied later by the construction of the Hudson Bay Railway, from a point on the main line of the Canadian Northern to Port Nelson on Hudson Bay. This gives a sea route to Europe alternative to that by the St. Lawrence, and, measured from Saskatoon to Liverpool, 1,185 miles shorter; but it has the disadvantage that Hudson Strait is closed by ice to navigation except from the middle of July to the middle of November.

If the Dominion of Canada could be set upon the continent of Europe, it would extend over it from Rome in the south to the North Cape; it even slightly exceeds the United States in area. Much of its territory, it is true, is Arctic in climate, and can never support any appreciable population. But there is no reason, either in soil or in climate, why the greater part of the west should not be farmed for wheat, as far north at any rate as the 60th parallel; and, as regards power for industrial development, in addition to coal Canada possesses probably nearly one-half of the total available water-power of the world. In one respect, however, she is handicapped. While Canada may well become in time the centre of the British Commonwealth as regards population and industrial development, and is geographically the great bridge of the Empire from the Atlantic to the Pacific, she is never likely to become a seafaring nation, to the same extent as Great Britain, and is therefore less fitted to be the centre of a maritime empire. The Canadian coastline is undoubtedly limited. Her northern coasts are in the perpetual grip of ice. Montreal and Quebec on the St. Lawrence are closed by ice for four or five months in the year; and Hudson Strait, leading to the great inland sea of Hudson Bay, is only open for about the same period. On the west her natural seaboard is cut off for 1,000

miles by United States territory in Alaska; and on the east a narrow strip of Labrador coast is under the control of Newfoundland. Even if Newfoundland were to join the Dominion, the eastern seaboard of Canada would still be hardly adequate in point of range and climate. But the influence of the ice is not wholly an evil one. The Canadian winter east of the Rockies, though varying as it must in a country stretching through so many degrees of longitude, is as a whole snowy and severe. In Quebec and Ontario snow covers the ground from the beginning of December to the end of March; in Manitoba and the Prairie Provinces there is a lighter snowfall, but lower temperature, though with much sunshine. This hard Canadian winter means not only that, where it prevails, it rules out the colour question; it puts a check also on the inflow of that Mediterranean immigration, much of which is an indigestible element in the United States; it means finally, that the waster class of white cannot exist in Canada, but must work, emigrate, or die. Thus her climate is not the least of the nation-building factors which together have created 'Our Lady of the Snows'.

4

The Indian Empire

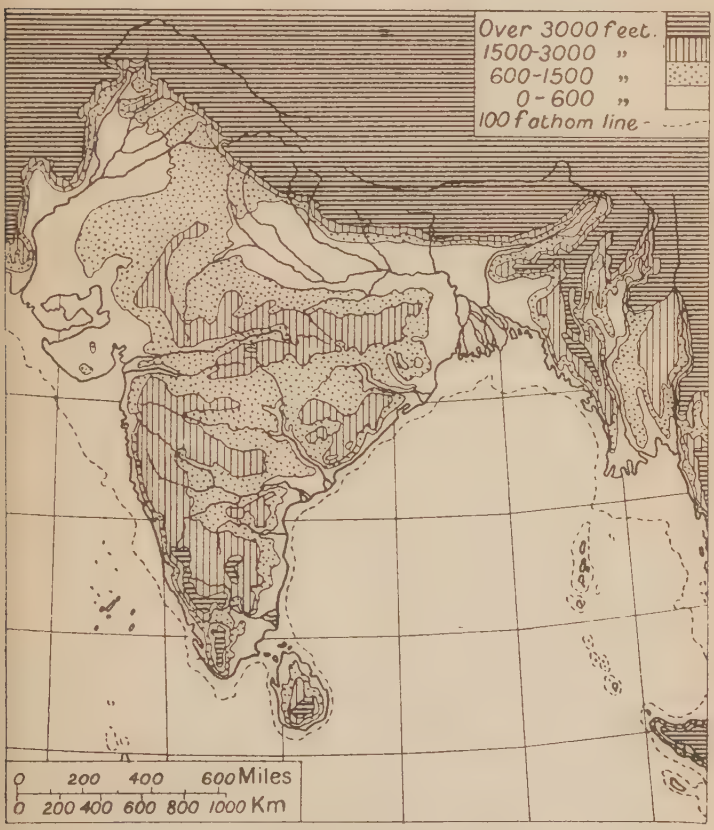
By right of discovery and occupation, as well as by Papal Bull, the rich trade with India and the East had come into the hands of the Portuguese, who, from their geographical position at the south-western corner of the European seaboard, were most favourably situated to control it. English interests, as has already been shown, were as naturally directed westwards across the Atlantic. In 1580, however, Philip II of Spain became ruler of Portugal also; and when open warfare

between English and Spaniards succeeded to the strife, no less bitterly contested, which had been carried on for years between the seamen of the two nations, it was inevitable that Portugal also should be brought into the struggle. Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth (31st December 1600) a company of English merchants was formed in London to attempt to compete both with Portuguese and with Dutch for the wealth of the Indian trade.

1. *The Mountain Barriers.*

The Indian Peninsula, or Hindustan, is the central peninsula of three which stretch southward from the mainland of the continent of Asia, as Italy is the central one of three similar peninsulas of Europe; and in each instance the peninsula ends in an island, Ceylon answering to Sicily. Like Italy, too, India is cut off from the mainland of the continent by a mighty chain of folded mountains. But the mountain barrier of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush is on an infinitely grander scale and has proved much more effective in the case of India than the Alps, that 'splendid traitor', in the case of Italy. For about half of the barrier the protection given to India has been absolute. It is only at the two ends of the mountain ranges, and especially on the 700-mile frontier from the Kabul River to Karachi, that actual invasion has taken place at all. For about 1,500 miles between the elbows of the Brahmaputra and the Indus this inviolate central portion of the barrier is the Himalayas—'the abode of snow'—150 miles to 200 miles in width, 17,000 to 19,000 feet in height, rising towards their south-eastern end to the highest group of mountains in the world—round Mount Everest and Kanchanjanga. Even the Himalayas are themselves only, as it were, the buttress of the plateau of Tibet. South-east from the Himalayas, Burma is cut off from India by the mass of high-ridged and densely forested mountains, inhabited by wild aboriginal tribes, which

are known under the different names of Arakan Yoma, Patkai, and Kachin Hills. This is an effective barrier though it has not been an absolute one. From prehistoric times successive



INDIA. Physical.

migrations have passed through these hills from China to settle in Bengal; in more recent times they did not prevent an invasion of Assam by the Burmese kings; and it was only when in 1824–6 the British broke the power of Burma and

annexed the eastern province of Assam and the coast of Arakan, that these invasions from the south-east at last definitely ceased.

North-west of the Himalayas the northern rim of the deep trough of the upper Indus valley is formed by the Mustagh or Karakoram Range, which runs from about 70° East latitude to its junction with the lofty plateau of the Pamir, 'the Roof of the World'. From this great knot, where all the chains of folded mountains are tied together, there strikes off south-westward the Hindu Kush, which separates the Oxus basin from the Indus, and is the historic north-western mountain barrier of Hindustan. The total length of the Hindu Kush range from the Pamir to the Koh-i-Baba system near Bamian, where it terminates, is 400 miles; but the mountain barrier is carried westward another 300 miles to Herat by the Koh-i-Baba and Hazara Highlands. The chief passes across it, taken from east to west, are as follows:

1. Baroghel Pass, 12,500 feet.
2. Dorah Pass, 14,800 feet, from Badakshan to Chitral.
3. Khawak Pass, 11,600 feet.
4. Kaoshan Pass, 14,300 feet.
5. Chahardar Pass, 13,900 feet.
6. Kotal-i-Irak, 13,500 feet.

The four last-mentioned lead from Turkestan to Kabul, and of these the Kaoshan or Hindu Kush Pass, from which the mountains take their name, has been 'the recognized gateway through all ages from High Asia into Kabul and India',[1] used by Alexander the Great, and before and after him by hordes of Aryans, Scythians, Goths, Turks, and Mongols. Westward of the Irak Pass there is no opening over the mountains southward from the Oxus basin till Herat is reached; while the natural difficulties of the routes to which the two passes (Baroghel and Dorah) eastward of the Kabul group belong have ever been too formidable in their present roadless state

[1] Colonel Sir T. H. Holdich, *India* ('Regions of the World' Series).

to allow of the passage of an army. Kabul thus commands all routes leading to India on the north-west of the Punjab, and it controls to some degree also the route which turns the flank of the mountain barrier on the west, leading from Herat to Kandahar, and so to Sind and the south-west of the Punjab.

INDIA. The North-West Frontier.

As the crow flies, Herat and Kabul are about equidistant from Kandahar: in actual fact, Kabul is 290 miles by an excellent road, and Herat 360 by a bad one. Northward of Herat, too, lie the deserts of Khiva and Bokhara, so serious an obstacle to the use of the Herat route for invasion from Central Asia that Lord Roberts considered the victories of

Skobeloff, which established Russia in 1884–5 in Merv and Sarakhs on the southern side of these deserts, as 'by far the most important step ever made by Russia in her advance towards India'. Kabul thus controls absolutely the Hindu Kush routes, and to a large extent that by Kandahar also; and this advantage of natural position, coupled with the fact that from it the roads lead southward to the highly cultivated lands and great cities of the Punjab, explains why nearly every military expedition of any consequence which has been directed against India has been, so far as history can tell us, launched from Kabul.

But though Kabul stands thus on the threshold, it is not itself within the gates of Hindustan; or rather, it is within the outer defences only. The Hindu Kush–Koh-i-Baba mountain barrier does not form, and has not ever formed, the actual political frontier of India. This rather follows, from the Dorah Pass south-westward, a lesser but still most formidable line of heights. These are, first, subsidiary spurs of the Hindu Kush as far as the Khyber route near Landi Kotal, then the Safed Koh range, the Suliman mountains of Baluchistan, rising to the dominating peak of the Kaisargarh (11,300 feet), and, lastly, the Kirthar range, forming the westward end of the inner mountain wall, its flank resting on the Arabian Sea. The chief passes through this second mountain defence are as follows, again taken from east to west:

1. The Khyber route, which has been, whether for war or trade, the main line of advance from Kabul to Peshawar from the days of Alexander the Great.

> When spring-time flushes the desert grass,
> Our kafilas wind through the Khyber Pass.
> Lean are the camels but fat the frails,
> Light are the purses but heavy the bales,
> As the snow-bound trade of the North comes down
> To the market-square of Peshawur town.

2. The Peiwar Kotal (9,200 feet) from the Kuram valley to Kabul over the Shutargardan Pass (11,900 feet).
3. The Tochi Valley, the route used by Mahmud of Ghazni in his raids on Multan and Sind.
4. The Gomal Pass, the oldest of the Trade Routes.
5. The Bolan Pass, leading from Sibi to Quetta and Kandahar. A British military railway now runs through the Bolan to Quetta, duplicated by a loop line to eastward.
6. The Mulla Pass, in the Kirthar Mountains, connecting Kalat with the plains of the Indus Valley. This was on the course of the Central Persian Trade Route of the Middle Ages from Bagdad to Multan, and was also the line of advance of the Arab general, Mohammed Kasim, in 711, when he conquered Sind.

Save, then, on the side of Burma, it was only on these 700 miles of frontier from the Kabul River to Karachi that India was really open to land invasion; but here, as history shows, she was very vulnerable indeed. We may perhaps reckon eight great invasions by these land routes, as well as innumerable inroads. Of the first invasion, or series of invasions, those of the Aryans, important as they were, not much is known; the second was that of the Persians about 500 B. C.; the third that of Alexander the Great. For hundreds of years after Alexander's invasion it seems almost as if the knowledge of the practicability of this route had been lost. In the beginning of the eighth century A. D., however, there was an Arab conquest of Sind, and in 1001 came the fourth great invasion, by Mahmud of Ghazni, which brought about what was almost a new discovery of India for the rest of the world, as well as the end of India's isolation and independence. The fifth invasion (1398) was that of Tamerlane. It overthrew the Mohammedan Empire which had been established as an ultimate result of the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. Baber in 1594 re-established Mohammedan power in the form of

the Mogul Empire, which was again overthrown by the seventh invasion, that of Nadir Shah, the Persian, in 1739. Lastly, in 1760 from Afghanistan came Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Durani, and broke at Panipat (1761) the Mahratta power, which had seemed likely to unite all Hindustan in a great Hindu reaction against the Mohammedans.

Even the greatest of these states, however, which was probably the Mogul Empire, never succeeded in giving to Hindustan unity within, just as none proved able to keep it secure from dangers from without. Up till the accession of Akbar in 1556, this empire consisted only of the Punjab and the country round Delhi and Agra ; up till 1595 it was limited by the Narbada ; and a conquest of the Deccan was made only in 1683 by the expedition of Aurungzebe. But twenty-four years later, on the great emperor's death, all southern India broke up into independent states, and it was left to British dominion to give for the first time political unity to Hindustan. Even this unity, growing as it is, has been repeatedly threatened from the traditional storm-centre across the Afghan border. If we may see in early British expansion in India, from 1748 till about 1805 or 1810, one aspect of our world-wide duel with France, we may equally, from the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, trace our advance to the north-west frontier, through the series of events which witnessed the conquest of Sind and of the Punjab, the Afghan Wars, and the annexation of Oude, to alarm at the rapid India-ward expansion of Russia.

2. *The Great River Plains.*

India within these mountain boundaries, historically as well as geographically, consists of two marked regions, the 500,000 square miles of the Indo-Gangetic Plain, and the Indian Peninsula proper, the triangular table-land of the Deccan. Three river systems carry the drainage of both the northern

and southern slopes of the Himalayas to the Indo-Gangetic Plain. These are :

1. The Sutlej–Indus system, rising in the hollow trough beyond the Himalayas, and flowing, first north-westward and then south-westward, to the Arabian Sea. The Indus and its great tributaries, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, and Sutlej, have brought to their basin, the Punjab, its name of the ' Five Rivers '.
2. The Brahmaputra, also rising beyond the Himalayas, not far from the source of the Indus, and flowing south-eastward and then south to the Bay of Bengal, where it unites with the Ganges.
3. The Ganges system, draining the southern slopes of the Himalayas south-eastward to the Bay of Bengal.

At its lowest point the water-parting between Indus and Ganges is only 924 feet above sea-level, and the average fall in either direction to the sea is only one foot per mile. Upon this great alluvial plain, one set of invaders after another has from time immemorial burst through the north-western mountain barrier, to press earlier comers southwards before them towards the sea. Before the first Mohammedan invasions, for example, the Rajput clans withdrew from the plains of the middle Ganges valley to the Aravalli Hills and the deserts of Rajputana, where the new states they founded were never completely subjugated.

In the Ganges basin great natural fertility has helped to make its population dense, rich, and unwarlike ; and the open nature of the whole country has given few natural strongholds. There is one district, however, which topographical conditions have made of strategical importance. Before the construction of railways by the British, the great Thar Desert of Rajputana, stretching from the Arabian Sea on the west to within twenty miles of the Jumna, with the Aravalli Hills lying to the south of the desert, made as a whole an area which was practically

impassable for an army. The Jumna, too, at most seasons of the year could not be crossed, owing to its breadth, and to the marshes, quick-sands, and jungles, which made it still more formidable as a military obstacle; while to the north, in the Punjab, the Indus and its mighty sister streams flowed from the north-east across the line of advance from Afghanistan to Hindustan proper, fordable only, and with difficulty, in their upper courses near the Himalayas. These twenty miles between the Jumna and the desert thus became a narrow neck of land, through which all movement north and south had of necessity to pass; and here, on the Jumna, the westernmost tributary of the Ganges, and beside that historic ridge, which is the easternmost extension of the Aravalli Hills, grew up the imperial city of Delhi, standing where, or whereabouts, it is said that from time immemorial a capital city has stood, controlling by its position the lands both to north and south. In 1193 it became the centre of the empire founded by Mohammed of Ghor; and in spite of the adoption in preference by Baber and Akbar of Agra or Lahore as their capitals, it has substantially been identified ever since both with the centre of Mohammedan power and with the attempted unity of Hindustan. Fifty miles north of Delhi, at Panipat, the fate of India has thrice been decided in pitched battle; and it was the British capture of Delhi in 1857 which definitely sealed the failure of the Indian Mutiny. Since 1911 it has been the capital of British India.

3. *The Ghats and the Deccan.*

From the Indo-Gangetic Plain there is a gradual rise by broken steps to the confused east-and-west ranges which are known as the Vindhya Hills. Though now pierced by road and railway they stood in former times as a barrier of mountain and jungle between northern and southern India, across which they stretch from the Arabian Sea nearly to the Ganges below

Benares ; and they formed one of the obstacles on which were wrecked all the attempts made before the eighteenth century to weld the whole country permanently into one empire. The Vindhya Hills, and south of them the Satpuras, mark the northern edge of the geologically ancient table-land of the Deccan. Its western and eastern edges are formed by the Western and Eastern Ghats, the former being a very well-defined ridge. Both run roughly parallel to the curve of the coastline, leaving a level strip between their foot-hills and the sea. There is, however, a considerable contrast between these two ridges. The Western Ghats present seaward a much loftier and steeper wall than the Eastern—an average of 4,000 feet as against 1,500—culminating in the (nearly) 8,000 feet of the Sispara peaks in the Nilgiri Hills. South of the Nilgiris they recede from the sea, leaving between them and the coast the district of Travancore. Farther north this coastal strip, forty to fifty miles wide, forms the districts of Malabar, North and South Kanara, and the Konkan, where the few good ports are Bombay, Goa, Cochin, Calicut, and Cannanore. This is the region of the Portuguese conquests and settlements in the sixteenth century, to which they were directed by their route from the east coast of Africa. Their main desire was to establish a maritime supremacy in Indian waters which would secure their trade ; but even had they aimed at more, their position here between the sea and the Ghats would have been most unfavourable for the spread of their power inland. Exactly similar circumstances during the expansion of British influence in India retarded the growth of Bombay. On the other hand, the Ghats did afford protection against the powerful Mohammedan states in the Deccan.

The eastern coast between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal was the main scene of French and English settlements, and here conditions much more favourable for the establishment of a land empire existed. The general slope of

the Deccan plateau is towards the east, and the Eastern Ghats, as already remarked, are much lower than the western. They stand farther back from the sea, and they are broken by great rivers which flow through them from the plateau. Along the whole western coastline from Surat to Cape Comorin no river of appreciable size reaches the sea from the central table-land; but the three great rivers of the Madras Presidency, Godaveri, Kistna, and Cauvery, all rise on the inner eastern slope of the Western Ghats, and flow right across the Deccan through the Eastern Ghats to the sea. The eastern coast-plain, known in the south as the Carnatic, farther north as the Northern Circars, has an average width of from seventy to eighty miles from Cape Comorin to its junction with the Orissa district of Bengal. In its central division are the historically famous towns of Madras, Arcot, and Pondicherry; farther south are Trichinopoli, Cuddalore (Fort St. David), Tanjore, and Negapatam. Once, then, established on this Coromandel Coast, as it is called, both French and English found it much easier than did the Portuguese to push their power and influence into the interior; and the national resources behind either nation were greater than the Portuguese could ever command, even had the discovery of Brazil not diverted a great part of their colonizing energy to the west.

4. *British India.*

The essential geographical point to grasp in the record of British expansion in India is that, coming as it did from the coasts inwards, it made little of the physical factors—the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush, the Thar Desert, the Vindhya Hills—which till then had largely shaped the course of Indian history. In particular the Vindhyan barrier between northern and southern India has to British rule proved hardly an obstacle at all, and it is now divided between several different administrative provinces. A map showing the chief native

or ' protected states ' does reveal how these have been isolated inland by the course of British expansion inwards from the sea, and the Western Ghats restricted the growth of Bombay ; but, as a whole, political geography in India bears much less relation nowadays than in the Middle Ages to the physical features of the country.

Reference has already been made to the beginnings of the British connexion with India, dating from 1600, when, the Dutch having raised the price of pepper from 3*s.* to 6*s.* a pound, the East India Company of Merchants was in self-defence founded in London for trade with the East Indies. With the permission of the Mogul emperors, the Company established factories at various points on the Indian coasts : on the west coast at Surat (1612) ; on the east coast temporarily at Masulipatam (1611), and then on the open and shelving roadstead of Madras (1640), where was built the fort of St. George ; and in the Ganges delta at Hugli (1651), which was then the chief port of Bengal. The summer monsoon brought the Company's ships to Bengal and the Carnatic from the south-east and south as the Portuguese route up the east coast of Africa brought them to Surat. In the special Portuguese sphere of influence, however, the English soon, in 1622, captured Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, from the Portuguese ; and in 1688 greatly improved their position when Bombay, half-way down the east coast, with a fine harbour and advantages of position both strategical and commercial, which had been the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal on her marriage to Charles II, was transferred to the Company by the Crown. In the same year the Bengal factory was moved from Hugli to a more advantageous position at Calcutta, which was accessible at high tide to heavily armed ships. There were also other and earlier factories, but Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, tapping three great centres of trade, were the most important. Madras, however, was specially important

in view of future developments, as the Company's first territorial possession in India other than mere factories.

For it was trade which engaged the best, almost the whole, energies of the Company for a hundred and forty-four years, till in 1744 these factories and their French neighbours and commercial rivals—Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Mahé—were caught up into the world-wide struggle of Britain and France for colonial empire. Frenchmen took the lead in creating armies of native troops with much of the discipline and efficiency of Europeans; and Dupleix, the French Governor-General in India, in particular grasped the fact that, with the superiority which such a force would have over the huge and unwieldy native armies of India, it would be possible to hold the balance of power between their warring states, and to found a European dominion on the ruins of the Mogul Empire. Before, however, such a dominion could be won, European rivals must be disposed of; for European qualities in the long run were bound to tell. But in a climate so deadly to white races it was essential that there should be a steady flow of fresh blood as reinforcement from home; and it was the action of British sea power, in securing the command of the sea and of the routes to India, that made such reinforcement possible for the British, impossible for the French. This in turn enabled the military genius of Robert Clive by 1761 to cripple the power of France in India, and to establish the influence of the East India Company as paramount alike in Bengal and in the Deccan. It is true that the result of local naval actions fought in Indian waters was generally indecisive. But the British Admiralty reinforced its East Indian fleet, the French did not; and the nearest French naval base, at Mauritius, was so inadequately supplied with naval stores that before the end of the Seven Years' War the French naval commander had been compelled to leave India to its fate. The result was that the British tenure in India had

time to become so securely established as not afterwards to be seriously shaken even by the later efforts of the great French admiral Suffren. Thus the Madras Presidency grew out of a necessary effort to protect Fort St. George and Fort St. David from the French, and the Bengal Presidency from an equal need to protect Fort William at Calcutta from the Mohammedan Nawab of Bengal. Thanks to the unwarlike spirit of the natives, and to the senility of the Mogul Empire, as well as to the victories of Clive, British influence extended even more quickly over Bengal and Behar than round Madras, where were more virile, independent states under Hyder Ali of Mysore, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Mahrattas. It was in fact only the British possession of Bengal, a far richer base than Dupleix could ever have secured in Hyderabad, that enabled Warren Hastings to support effectively the much weaker settlements at Madras and Bombay. The distance between these different centres of settlement, and the difficulty of communication between them, except by sea, meant that three distinct Presidencies grew up; and though in 1774 the Governor of Bengal was appointed also Governor-General of India, the interests of the Presidencies continued to be largely distinct till a relatively late date in British Indian history. In spite of the fact that it had succeeded Surat in 1687 as the head-quarters of the Company in the East the growth and importance of Bombay were restricted through the isolation of the Malabar coast from the rest of India by the Western Ghats, until its connexion by rail to northern India, and the effect of the construction of the Suez Canal in bringing it nearer to the ports of Europe.

By the close of Lord Wellesley's administration in 1805, which marks approximately the end of the time when the governing factor in our foreign policy in India was fear of the influence of France, the only territories left entirely independent were the Sikh kingdom in the Punjab, the states of the

Indus valley, and Nepal. The need of a defensible frontier against Russia next led, directly or indirectly, to

1. In 1843 the conquest of Sind.
2. In 1845 and 1848–9 the Sikh Wars and the annexation of the Punjab, which carried our boundary up to the edge of the cultivable lands at the foot of the Afghanistan hills.
3. The diplomatic missions of Mountstuart Elphinstone to Kabul and of Sir John Malcolm to Persia in 1800–1, and the First Afghan War, 1838–42, a useless attempt, by setting a British nominee, Shah Shuja, on the throne of Kabul, to counteract Russian influence.
4. In 1856 the annexation of Oude.

This last again combined with other causes to bring about the Mutiny of the Bengal sepoys in 1857. The Mutiny signally illustrated the inherent lack of unity in India, for the revolt was mainly confined to the army of Bengal, and was put down largely by the loyalty of the Sikhs of the Punjab, so shortly before brought under British rule. The failure of the Mutiny was followed by the replacement of the East India Company by the direct authority of the Crown, and the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Kaisar-i-Hind, Empress of India.

The fate of Burma, on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, could hardly be separated from that of the western side, when the latter was held by a Power in command of the sea. For the protection of trade against Burmese piracy, the Government of India was compelled gradually to take the control of the whole country under the British Crown. Ceylon, too, which is almost joined to the mainland of India by the two small islands and connecting reef which bear the name of Adam's Bridge, though it has had a separate history, and has still a separate administration, came inevitably within the sphere of British sea power. In 1782 its fine harbour at

Trincomalee had been occupied temporarily as a naval base: the island itself was captured from the Dutch by a military expedition in 1795, the Netherlands then being an ally of France, and it has remained British ever since. Again, as Britain holds at Aden, since 1839, the entrance from the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea, as she holds at Cape Town the most strategically important point on the route to the Atlantic, so also she has held since 1786 at Penang and since 1819 at Singapore the entrance from the Indian Ocean through the Straits of Malacca to the China Sea. Round Singapore an Anglo-Malay Empire has been gradually built up.

The climate of India makes it impossible that she should ever become, like Canada or Australia, the home of a nation of European stock. It is, indeed, practically only in the Vale of Kashmir that permanent settlement by Europeans is possible, without deterioration of type. Even were it desirable, India can thus never be looked upon as a Britain overseas. And in extent she is a continent rather than a country. Her area and population are about equal to the area and population of the whole of Europe without Russia. But, here as elsewhere, railways and telegraphs have greatly reduced the importance of this element of distance, that has always been one of the greatest barriers to Indian unity; and the airship and the aeroplane may be expected in the future to destroy it. The great Lord Lawrence (1811–79) once related that in his youth it had been considered a notable achievement, when by travelling day and night he had covered the distance from Calcutta to Delhi in fourteen days. Any native can make this journey to-day in thirty hours. At the time of the Mutiny there were only 273 miles of railway in India, and 4,044 miles of telegraph. To-day there are over 30,600 and 69,000. As a result of these and other factors, such as a cheap popular press, there has been growing up in India the conception of a common Indian nationality, and a desire, not

confined by any means to anti-British agitators, for a greater and increasing share by the native races in controlling the destinies of their own country. Progress to such an ideal as that of Dominion status within the British Empire must necessarily be very gradual. India has in time past been ruled only by a succession of despotisms, and the work of education for self-government cannot be finished in a decade. But the first steps have already been taken in the development of the Indian Empire into a partnership in the Commonwealth of British Nations.

5

The Union of South Africa

1. *From Discovery to Settlement.*

The acquisition of an empire in India brought Great Britain to South Africa. It has been told already how during the great period of Portuguese discoveries on the way to India Bartholomew Diaz had in 1486–7 discovered the Cape. Following him, Vasco da Gama in 1497 had entered, without landing at, Table Bay, touched at Mossel Bay, and then on 25th December had again sighted land, which in honour of the day he named Natal. His mission, however, was not to colonize, but to reach India, and he pushed on up the eastern coast to Mombasa and Melinde, and so to his destination. This voyage of da Gama was to be typical of all Portuguese enterprise after him. With their eyes set on the wealth of India, they found at the Cape nothing to attract them. Their hereditary hostility to 'the Moors' and their need of ports of call on this Indiaward route led them in time to possess themselves of many of the Arab trading settlements on the east coast of Africa, such as Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombasa, and Sofala (1506). In 1545 they established a trading post on Delagoa Bay. But on the west

coast their southernmost settlement was Benguella ; and they made no permanent occupation at any point on the barren, hardly broken, coast between.

The South African coastline from the mouth of the Kunene River in the west to the delta of the Zambezi is most regular in form and little broken by bays or headlands. It is really indented only in the extreme south-west and south, between St. Helena and Algoa Bays, and the only two good natural harbours are at Saldanha and Delagoa Bays. The removal of a sand bar at Port Natal has, however, had the effect of making Durban also a serviceable harbour. Englishmen had landed at Table Bay as early as 1591, and from the beginning of the seventeenth century British ships had become accustomed to use it as an occasional port of call on the way to and from India ; but a formal annexation by two British captains in 1620 had not been supported by the Home Government. The first permanent settlement at the Cape was made by the Dutch. As the result of the favourable report brought home by Dutch sailors, who had four years previously been shipwrecked in Table Bay, the Dutch East India Company decided to establish there a settlement, a fort, and some vegetable gardens, as a port of call for their East Indiamen. Thus it was that an expedition of three ships under Jan van Riebeck dropped anchor in Table Bay on the 6th April 1652, more than a century and a half after the Portuguese had first made discovery of the Cape.

2. *The Country of the Dutch Settlement.*

The country where the Dutch settlers now found themselves commences with a narrow strip of lowland along the coast, varying in width from a few miles to fifty. The land then mounts by a succession of steps to the great interior plateau which is the main physical feature of South Africa. A series of folded mountains, commencing on the west coast just south of the mouth of the Olifants River in the Olifants Mountains, is

continued under a variety of names roughly parallel with the south coast. These Cape Ranges, as the whole series may be called, slope gently northward to the first 'step', the plateau of the Little Karroo (*Karroo* = 'arid'), from which again rises the Central Chain of the Cape Ranges. This chain begins east of the Olifants River as the Cedarbergen and continues eastwards

SOUTH AFRICA. Physical Features.

as the Groote Zwartebergen and the Zuurbergen to the north of Algoa Bay. Behind the Central Chain lies the second 'step', which is the plateau of the Great Karroo, a relatively low-lying region with an exceedingly dry climate and a thin poor soil, suited for sheep farming rather than for agriculture.

Inland from the Great Karroo is the third 'step', the great plateau itself. This mighty table-land—'Bushmanland', as the early settlers called it—which is the core of Africa, is bounded

east, south, and west by a great curved escarpment, almost parallel with the line of the coast, and at a distance from it of 120 miles. On the east it commences in the Strydpoort Range near Potgietersrust (6,000 feet), and thence sweeps, first south-east and then south, till it reaches its greatest elevation in the mighty 10,000 feet peaks of the Drakensberg, in the south-eastern Transvaal and Natal. From the south-western end of the Drakensberg the escarpment, now diminished in height to 3,500 feet or less, runs westward above the Great Karroo for 400 miles as the Stormberg, Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, and Komsberg Mountains, and then turns north-west as the Roggeveld. Between these hills and the Orange River the escarpment almost disappears; but in South-West Africa it again becomes a marked and important feature in the structure of the country. The vast table-land of which this escarpment is the edge has a mean elevation of 4,000 feet above the sea; in the High Veld of the Transvaal it reaches fully 6,000 feet. Looked at from the south the land first falls gradually from the edge of the escarpment to the valley of the Orange River, which flows west from the Basuto Highlands right across the plateau, and then, north of the Orange, rises again gradually to the Witwatersrand. This is a ridge, about 60 miles long, which stands 1,000 feet higher than the general level of the plateau round it, and is the watershed between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The rainfall of most of South Africa is due to rain-bearing monsoon winds from the Indian Ocean. When they reach the land, these are intercepted by the steep eastern escarpment of the great plateau and deposit their moisture mainly on its seaward slopes, so that over most of the table-land there is only slight rainfall (24 to 25 inches), decreasing towards the west. Thus south, east, and north of the Witwatersrand the rolling plains of the veld, their flat surface broken by low-pointed or table-shaped *Kopjes* or lines of *Kopjes*, are only moderately watered and little wooded, typically stock-farming

country. To this the Kimberley and Rand mining areas are, of course, exceptions.

West of the Witwatersrand and of the Transvaal, stretching up the whole western side of South Africa from south of the mouth of the Orange River, is country with an even poorer rainfall, less than 10 inches in the year. Immediately west of the Transvaal is what is actually known as the Kalahari Desert, a sand-covered region of low relief and dry river-beds. It is important to notice for the course of South African history how geographical conditions thus placed the ill-watered and desert areas on one side of the continent, and made the natural line of development from south to north, and not from west to east.

3. *The Dutch Settlement.*

About one hundred settlers arrived with Van Riebeck to form the port of call and permanent victualling station desired by the Dutch East India Company. In 1657 allotment was made of farms to a few discharged soldiers and sailors of the Company—'free burghers', as they were called. Two years later, as the result of a quarrel with the Hottentots, one of the two native races which the Dutch found in the Cape Colony on their arrival, the settlers acquired, by conquest and by purchase, the whole coast strip from Saldanha to False Bay. The new-comers, so far as they were not officials of the East India Company, devoted themselves strenuously to agriculture, especially wheat farming. By 1682 their numbers inclusive of officials were given at 662. There had been few attempts to penetrate inland and the colony clung strictly to the immediate neighbourhood of the Company's post. About 1688–9 came a most important new element, the Huguenots. In 1685 the Revocation by Louis XIV of the Edict of Nantes once more threatened the French Protestants with religious persecution; and through the sympathy of the Dutch Government some 300 of these unfortunates, many of them the finest blood of France,

were brought out to the Cape, and settled in the valley of the Berg River, in the districts of Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Frenchhoek, and Paarl. Their names, Du Toits, Jouberts, Villiers, and a score of others, are amongst the most famous in South African history. The Huguenots had economically an important influence on their Dutch neighbours because they brought with them more scientific methods of farming, and in particular greatly developed the cultivation of the vine. These thousand settlers, Dutch and Huguenot, of all ages and both sexes, were the progenitors of the Dutch Africanders of to-day.

By the early years of the eighteenth century the little colony had begun to expand landwards, across the coast range of mountains which shuts in the coastal belt of lowland between St. Helena Bay and Cape Agulhas, on either side of the Cape of Good Hope. The farmers had now been allowed to purchase land from the Hottentots ; while the Company, in leasing land, laid down the rule that clear spaces of three miles should intervene between one homestead and the next. Besides, in a country where six acres barely support a sheep, six thousand became the normal size for a cattle farm. All these influences combined to help forward the expansion of the colony, and there was little danger from the natives to keep the settlements together. Amalgamation of the settlers was made easier by discouragement of the French language on the part of the Company. In its abandonment is perhaps to be found the origin of the patois of the Cape Dutch to-day—the Taal. Slaves were introduced from West Africa, Madagascar, the Dutch Malay Indies, and from Mozambique. The Hottentots, as many of them as were not destroyed by small-pox epidemics in 1713 and 1755, became a nation of serfs, while the yellow-skinned Bushmen, the second native race which the Dutch found in occupation of the country, were hunted down like wild beasts. It was estimated that within six years more than 3,000 of them had been killed or captured.

The rule of the Company was arbitrary and repressive. It kept trade wholly in its own hands, while prescribing to the 'free-burghers', the Boers or farmers, what crops they were to grow, and demanding ftom them a large share of the produce. 'In all things political', has written a Dutch historian, 'it was purely despotic; in all things commercial, it was purely monopolist.' It was not likely, however, that the descendants of men who for fifty years had defied the might of Spain, or, for conscience' sake, had left their homes in fertile France, would submit tamely to such misrule. There was, as yet, no danger from without to compel the settlers to hold together. There was a ready remedy for their troubles in the abundance of land open for occupation, a feature as characteristic of South African as of American history; and about 1720 'trekking' began and for sixty years went steadily forward. Thus, by about 1770, their settlements, still roughly bounded by the Berg River on the west, had on the north spread to the Central Ranges in the Zwartebergen Mountains and on the east to Algoa Bay. Captain Gordon had in 1779 traced the course of the Orange to the sea; pioneers had established themselves beyond the Berg as far north as the Olifants River; and the Government, realizing that the 'trekking' spirit was passing beyond its control, proclaimed the northern boundary of the Colony to be the Sneeuwbergen, forbidding under heavy penalties any settlement beyond. In the east the Great Fish River was in 1780 fixed by agreement as a common boundary with the Kaffir tribes, with whom the Dutch had now come in contact. But it was in vain that the Company sought to set limits to the colony's expansion. On the north-east the Sneeuwbergen limit was passed; on the north-west settlement was pushed forward into Bushmanland to the Buffalo River; and it may fairly be claimed that by the close of the century the Dutch had everywhere succeeded in establishing themselves beyond the Escarpment on the great African plateau itself.

Nature had then no barrier left in the way of their northward movement so formidable as those they had already overcome. A hundred and fifty years had brought them thus far from the Cape; the next half-century was to see them on the Limpopo.

4. *The Beginnings of British South Africa.*

Throughout the eighteenth century the power of the Dutch East India Company was growing steadily weaker; and both Britain and France, intent on their great duel in the East and at sea, had set their minds, if not actually on securing the Cape for themselves, at any rate on preventing it falling into the hands of their rival. The French were already using Madagascar as a port of call in the Indian Ocean, and in 1715 had occupied Mauritius and begun to make it their principal naval base in these waters. The British in 1651 had established themselves at St. Helena, but, lying as it does within the belt of the south-east trade-winds, this island was of value only as a calling port on the homeward voyage. In 1781 Great Britain, at war with the Dutch, had attempted to seize the Cape, and had been forestalled by the French fleet under the great Admiral Suffren. Fourteen years later, in 1795, a second expedition was more successful; and although the colony was restored to the Netherlands in 1803 at the Peace of Amiens, it was once again occupied in 1806. Finally in 1814, by treaty, by money payment, and by right of conquest, it passed definitely under the British Crown. Its area at this time was some 125,000 square miles, its white population about 26,000, with 30,000 slaves, and perhaps 200,000 Bushmen, Hottentots, and Kaffirs.

With their new colony the British took over not a few urgent problems and responsibilities. The first of these was a series of Kaffir wars. At the same time as the Europeans had been spreading slowly northwards from the south-west corner of the

continent, a conquering race of Bantu negro stock, originating somewhere north of the Zambezi, had in like manner, by way of the east coast, been extending southwards. These Bantu tribes were either military in organization, or industrial. By their skilled leadership and superiority in war the military tribes secured possession of the more fertile and well-watered regions of the Drakensberg and kindred ranges, which intercept the rain-bearing monsoon winds, and their east and south-east slopes, stretching towards the sea. The industrial and less warlike tribes were scattered for the most part over the central plateau or driven into the western desert. To this day there is thus a relatively scanty native population in the Cape Province proper and in the Orange Free State, but a large native population in the Transkeian territories, in the Transvaal, and in Natal. The Bantu, or Kaffirs as the settlers called them, unlike their predecessors the Bushmen and Hottentots, throve and multiplied in their contact with the whites. Thus the Bantu invasion has meant in the history of South Africa that, instead of becoming, like North America and Australia, entirely a white man's country, it has become mainly a black man's country, with the white population even to-day only a small percentage (about 1 in 6) of the whole.

A second and more immediate effect of this invasion was that the eastward expansion of Cape Colony was checked greatly in comparison with the northern. Already before the British occupation the Dutch had come into contact with the Kaffirs, and we have seen that the Great Fish River had by mutual agreement been established as a frontier between them. The Kaffirs, however, were continually crossing this barrier, so that both in 1811–12 and 1818–19 their invasions had to be repelled with armed force; and the Governor appealed for immigrants from home, to settle the border districts and thus garrison the frontier. In 1820 in answer to this appeal was made the 'Albany Settlement' of 5,000 British colonists, with

Port Elizabeth as their seaport on the first convenient harbour east of Cape Town, Algoa Bay; and as a result the eastern part of Cape Colony became predominantly English-speaking in distinction from the Dutch West and Centre. Subsequent Kaffir wars saw the gradual advance of the eastern frontier, as an essential measure of defence, first to the Kei River (1834 and 1847), and ultimately taking in all the native districts until Cape Colony became coterminous with Natal. On the north, however, where there was less native opposition, expansion was much more rapid. As early as 1824 the Orange River had for a long distance been taken as the northern boundary of Cape Colony. Attempts, made from 1834 onwards, chiefly under missionary influence, to create a line of native buffer states on the northern and eastern frontiers were, except in the cases of Pondoland and Basutoland, quite unsuccessful. Then in 1836 and between 1836 and 1840 took place what must be considered the central fact of all South African history, the Great Trek. Six thousand to ten thousand Boers (nearly one-fourth of the population) from Cape Colony trekked northward across the Orange River to the vast unoccupied plains of the High Veld, whence they turned northward yet into the fastnesses of the Zoutspanberg, and eastward into Natal. The grievances which drove them from the Colony were manifold. Natural resentment against alien rule was aggravated by British policy in the direction of equality between black and white, and retrocession to the natives of territory on the eastern frontier as dictated by the Home Government. There was a smarting sense of injustice at inadequate compensation for the emancipation of the slaves and endless delay in payment of the money. All these causes united to urge the 'voortrekkers' in their huge ox-drawn wagons from the settled districts of Cape Colony into the wilderness beyond the Orange, to live there the nomad, unfettered, patriarchal life which they had learned to love.

5. *British and Dutch Rivalry: Access to the Sea.*

Meanwhile, in 1824, in the same year that the Orange River had become recognized as the northern frontier of the Cape Colony, a small expedition under the leadership of two officers of the Royal Navy, King and Farewell, had landed at Port Natal (now Durban), where the one good harbour is on this coast, and had obtained a grant of Port Natal and 100 square miles of territory inland from the Zulu king, Chaka. In 1834 they had petitioned the Imperial Government, though without success, that their territory, now expanded by other grants, might be made a British colony. It was only four years later, in 1838, that 'a corporal's guard' of British infantry was sent to Durban as a garrison; and five years later still that Natal became a British colony. The ultimate effect of this was to cut off from the sea the Boer states now forming between the Orange and the Limpopo. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ama-Zulu, an obscure Bantu tribe, had sprung into prominence through the organization and leadership of Chaka. They had made conquest of Natal and Zululand, of much of the Free State and present Transvaal, and of Amatongaland as far as Delagoa Bay. Over these Zulus, then ruled by Dingaan, the successor of Chaka, Boers, under Andries Pretorius, crossing the passes of the Drakensberg from the Transvaal into Natal, had won in 1838 a great victory. Its anniversary, 16th December, known as 'Dingaan's Day', is one of the great national festivals of South Africa. Pushing south towards the sea the Boers next attacked in 1842 the British troops at Durban. Here, however, they were eventually repulsed; and on the proclamation of Natal as a British colony most of them trekked back again beyond the Drakensberg, leaving Natal, like eastern Cape Colony, mainly British in race and in speech. The two chief towns in Natal are a memorial of this encounter of Briton and Boer, in that the port on the sea-coast bears the name of the British Governor of the Cape Colony at the time,

Sir Benjamin Durban, while the inland town is called after two Dutch leaders, Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz. With a marked natural frontier on the north and north-west in the Drakensberg, Natal had as a common boundary on the east with Zululand the Tugela River and its tributary, the Buffalo. In 1856 the colony was entirely freed from connexion with the Cape, on which till then it had been partially dependent.

Though at first inclined to assert British sovereignty over the two Boer states between the Limpopo and the Orange, the Imperial Government from 1852 and 1854 recognized the independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in their internal affairs, and claimed even over their external relations only a very slight control. In 1877, however, came a reversal of this policy, when, in face of a threatened Zulu invasion, the British Commissioner, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, annexed the Transvaal, then bankrupt and disorganized, without any protest other than formal from its inhabitants. British administration, however, in practice proved unsympathetic; the Zulu menace was broken at Ulundi in 1880; and, like the North American colonies a hundred years before them when the danger from French Canada had been removed, the Boers rose in rebellion. British garrisons in the Transvaal mainly held their own, but in the field the troops were outmatched in the few skirmishes that took place with the more mobile burghers; and in 1881 the Home Government withdrew from the Transvaal, still maintaining, however, a claim of suzerainty over its relations abroad. The Boers were even allowed to annex a large part of Zululand (Vryheid or the New Republic). But this addition of territory did not result, as if carried yet farther it might have done, in giving them independent access to the sea: for the rest of Zululand was constituted a British possession, and eventually annexed to Natal, thus carrying British control right up to the Portuguese frontier.

Meantime the discovery of gold in the Transvaal had resulted

in important developments in the economic geography of South Africa. The steep seaward slope of the eastern escarpment of the great inland plateau has the result that the rivers of South Africa, rising on the plateau, are, save the Zambezi, navigable for a few miles only from their mouths. Thus South Africa resembles Australia in the importance railways rather than waterways hold as the great means of internal communication. 'Great as is the influence of the iron road everywhere, and innumerable as are its effects, there is no portion of the whole habitable globe in which its importance, compared with that of all other factors, is so great, so overshadowing, as in South Africa.'[1] At the end of 1872, when by Act of Parliament they were taken over by the Cape Government, the railways in the Colony had a total length of sixty-three miles between Cape Town and Wellington. The year previously, however, diamonds had been discovered in the neighbourhood of Kimberley; and this district thus became the first objective of railway development, lines being carried northward from all the three trade gateways of Cape Colony, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town. Early in 1884 the lines from Port Elizabeth and Cape Town had reached De Aar Junction, while that from East London was at Burgersdorp. Natal had also entered the race in 1876, and by 1885 the line from Durban had been opened to Estcourt. Then in 1886 came the proclamation by the Transvaal Government of the goldfield on the Witwatersrand; and Johannesburg was substituted for Kimberley as the goal of the railway race. The two competing colonies redoubled their efforts. By 1890 the Port Elizabeth line via Naauwpoort and Norval's Point on the Orange River had been carried to Bloemfontein; in May 1892 it reached the Transvaal border at Viljoen's Drift; six months later the last section was completed from the Vaal to the gold-

[1] The Right Hon. Viscount Milner, *Geography and Statecraft* (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. xxiii, p. 622).

fields. The Natal railways for their part early in 1891 had reached the Transvaal frontier at Charlestown, but it was four years later before they could join up with the line from the Cape. In addition, in 1894, by the completion by a private company of a line from Pretoria to Lorenço Marques on

SOUTH AFRICA. Principal Railways.

Delagoa Bay, the Transvaal Government achieved at last its ambition of access to the sea through a non-British port.

6. *British and Dutch Rivalry: The War.*

The two Boer states might have continued to exist in isolation on the veld without again coming to blows with their neighbours under the Union Jack had they remained as they

began, communities of farmers. The discovery of the extraordinary richness of the Rand goldfield, and the fact that the gold, instead of being washed out of the alluvium of streams, as in Australia, required to be mined by expensive machinery, inevitably brought into the Transvaal a new element of population, mainly of British stock, but drawn from every race under the sun, and, as the Transvaal Government found, able to bear very heavy taxation. As a result, the Government of the Transvaal became quickly very rich; and, hating and dreading as it did these 'Uitlanders' who had come all unasked to seek wealth, it jealously refused to them any such share in political power as could have enabled them to redress the injustice under which they undoubtedly suffered. The British Government on the other hand could hardly be deaf to the appeal for help that was made by the Uitlanders, when all hope from any other source had failed. They tried negotiation for better conditions, but the Boers saw no reason why they should yield, and on the 11th October 1899, when the veld-grass was green for the burghers' horses after the first rains, there broke out the South African War.

The British Empire, not for the first nor the last time, was wholly unprepared for the struggle. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State combined could set in the field 50,000 mounted infantry, which they might reasonably hope to swell to 80,000 or even 100,000 with sympathizers from their kindred of the Cape Dutch. They had with them the heaviest artillery that had ever marched with an army. Their opponents, thrown on the defensive by the suddenness of their attack, had at the outbreak of war a much inferior force to cover a long frontier. Instead of swooping upon the seaports, however, and compelling British reinforcements to land under the guns of the fleet, the Boers concentrated their efforts on the siege of two towns, Kimberley, the diamond city, and Ladysmith, in Natal, a junction where the branch railway from the Free State

through Van Reenen's Pass in the Drakensberg meets the main line from the Transvaal through Laing's Nek Pass. Even so, the fall of either place would probably have been a signal for a general rising of the Cape Dutch ; and the relief of both had to be attempted by the scanty British forces available, and this although the distance between them is the same as separates Paris from Frankfort, or Boston from Philadelphia. Time, however, was secured for British sea power to bring to South Africa a field army greatly superior in numbers to the Boers ; and at last Lord Roberts occupied the capitals of both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. But so greatly did the geographical conditions of vast space, open rolling veld studded with low, stony hills, and scarcity of water-supply, conspire to aid a resourceful mobile defence, that the Boers were able to continue their resistance for two years, and even to carry the war again into Cape Colony to within a hundred miles of Cape Town and to the sea at Mossel Bay. It was only on 31st May 1902 that by the Peace of Vereeniging the whole of South Africa came definitely under the British Crown.

7. *Expansion to the North : Rhodesia.*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century European knowledge of the geography of Central Africa was very slight indeed. The information which had been gathered by the journeys of Portuguese missionaries and travellers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been neglected and forgotten ; and the interior of the continent was represented on maps of the time as one vast desert, with the ' Mountains of the Moon ' in the north as the source of the Nile, and the ' Spine of the World ' (the ' Mountains of Lupata ') stretching parallel to the east coast north of the Zambezi. By the early seventies, however, through the travels of such men as Moffat, Thomas Baines, Karl Mauch, and before all of David Livingstone, a new light had been let in upon ' the Dark Continent ' ;

the general geographical character of Central Africa had become known; and the existence ascertained of mineral wealth, especially gold, in these regions. The question now arose which of the European peoples already interested in South Africa was to control the development of these vast new possibilities of wealth.

We have had occasion to notice once or twice already the effect of the high eastern escarpment of the great table-land in intercepting the rain-bearing winds from the Indian Ocean, and thus giving scanty rainfall over the greater part of the table-land west of the eastern escarpment, so that it eventually merges into desert, while the low-lying coast-lands at the foot of the escarpment are deluged with an almost tropical rainfall up to 50 inches in the year. In addition, these coasts, except in the south-west and south where they come under the influence of cold currents from the Antarctic regions, are washed by the warm Mozambique current. There is thus a marked contrast, as regards fitness for European habitation, between the hot and humid shores of the eastern coast-lands, and the high inland plateau, which by its very height carries a climate of the temperate zone north into the latitudes of the tropics. The table-land of Central Africa, whether north or south of the Zambezi, is ascended most easily from its southern end. On the west, though the slopes are not formidable, the intense aridity, as we have already seen, makes progress inland impossible or at least difficult; on the east there is the great mountain barrier of the escarpment. The railway running inland from Beira, for example, has to climb from sea-level to 5,600 feet to reach Salisbury on the plateau of Rhodesia. In fact, the approach from the east, as compared with that from the south, as Lord Milner has expressed it, ' is like the difference between climbing a step ladder and walking up a comparatively easy flight of steps '. It was only in the south, too, that the coast-lands, as already noticed, gave a climate favourable to

Europeans, who might make it their base for advance inland. These were solid geographical advantages for that nation which was already established at the Cape, and had set foot already on the path of northward expansion. The railway from Cape Town had overcome the difficulties of the escarpment, and was now on the crown of the table-land. It had even been carried 500 miles forward across the table-land to Kimberley. It was, indeed, a momentous fact in South African history that the great gold and diamond fields, the centres of railway attraction, lay, not near the coast, but far inland, and had drawn thus far after them those ribbons of steel which were to do so much to bring the whole of South Africa into the British Empire.

But there were competitors in the field. The road to the north was along the table-land, but on this table-land, and on the more fertile eastern half of it, the loosely organized Boer Republic had already pushed 400 miles nearer to the centre of Africa than the northernmost frontiers of British influence. The danger was that either Germany or Portugal might by means of the Transvaal bar the British road to the north. Portugal, established on either side of the sub-continent in Portuguese East Africa and Angola, had about 1887 put forward a claim to territories stretching across from sea to sea and including most of what is now Rhodesia. Germany, in consequence of British refusals to protect German missions in Damaraland and Namaqualand, or, except at Walfish Bay (annexed 1878), to accept any responsibilities on the west coast north of the Orange River, had declared a protectorate over South-West Africa in 1884, in the very same year that the Transvaal Boers were prevented only by a military expedition under Sir Charles Warren from adding Bechuanaland to their dominions, and thus, by bringing their western frontier into touch with the natural limits of the new German Protectorate, setting up an insuperable barrier to British expansion towards the Zambezi.

A great South African statesman, Cecil Rhodes, realized the danger; and by his genius and energy it was met. Northward of the Transvaal and the Bechuanaland Protectorate lies a vast stretch of the high African table-land, greater in area than France, Germany, and the Low Countries combined. It is divided unequally by the Zambezi; and while Northern Rhodesia beyond the river seems to present the distinguishing characteristics of tropical plantations, Southern Rhodesia on the other hand, a country larger than the British Isles, owing to its elevation and to the fact that its rainy season comes in the hot summer months (September–March), has a temperature rarely too high for comfort, and is as a whole well suited to support a population of European stock. In Southern Rhodesia, too, gold was definitely known to exist. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century much of this great territory had been ruled by a monarch called the Monomotapa, whose capital (*Zimbabwe*) had been in Mashonaland. Early, however, in the nineteenth century this 'Empire' had lost all internal cohesion, and the country had been invaded by Zulus led by Mosilikatze, a rebel general of Chaka. He and his army had settled north of the Limpopo in the part of Southern Rhodesia which was called after them Matabeleland. Less warlike Mashona tribes occupied the land farther north. In 1868 Mosilikatze had died, and had been succeeded by Lobengula, whose power extended north to the Zambezi and east over Mashonaland. Finally, in 1887, President Kruger had tried, though unsuccessfully, by a treaty with Lobengula, to extend Transvaal influence north of the Limpopo.

These, then, were the possibilities of the situation when 'the Scramble for Africa' began, and in a succession of quick moves Rhodes carried British influence to the north. Early in 1888 a vague British protection had been extended over Lobengula's country; in October of that year the Zulu king gave to a British syndicate control of all metals and minerals

in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Rhodes and his partners then bought up all existing claims and united all interests in the British South Africa Company, to which, a year later (29th October 1889), a charter was granted by the British Government. The trek of pioneers into Mashonaland in 1890 put a belt of British settlement between the Transvaal and the Zambezi. Rhodes, however, had now conceived on a yet grander scale the idea of British territory continuous throughout Africa from south to north, to be bound together by a trans-continental railway, of which the line then under construction northward from Kimberley would form the one end, and the line running southward from Cairo the other. To complete this railway 5,400 miles of construction were still required, or double the greatest length of the United States of America from east to west. Between 1889 and 1891 treaty relations were entered into north of the Zambezi with many tribes south of Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, to forestall possible Portuguese activity; and a protectorate was established by the Chartered Company over the Barotse country on the west to prevent the eastward extension of Portuguese Angola. By the comprehensive treaty which was concluded with Portugal in 1891 for the settlement of her claims arrangements were made for the construction of an East Coast railway from Salisbury, in Mashonaland, through Portuguese territory to the sea at Beira. This was completed in 1899.

Rhodes's dream, however, was not to come true in his lifetime. The frontier of German East Africa reached that of the Belgian Congo on the other side of Lake Tanganyika; German opposition to a lease to Great Britain of a railway route through the Belgian Congo frustrated through communications from British Central Africa to Uganda; and it was only as the result of the Great War that the mandate granted to Great Britain for the administration of German East Africa (Tanganyika Territory) made possible at last the realization of an all-British

trans-continental route. In the meantime Rhodesia had been troubled by native risings and by a great rinderpest outbreak in 1896 which killed off all the trek-oxen in the country. Both causes urged on the progress of the railway by forced marches. It was opened to the new capital of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, near the site of Lobengula's *kraal,* in November 1897, and to Salisbury in 1902, while the main north line in 1904 crossed the Zambezi into Northern Rhodesia beside the Victoria Falls, reaching the Congo border five years later. The railway, following the trend of the highest and healthiest portion of the table-land from Bulawayo to Salisbury, where British-born settlers can found permanent homes, passes also through Gwelo, the centre of the best gold-producing country, and is in truth the vertebral system of the colony. In 1895 this colony justly became known by the name of its great founder as Rhodesia.

There was every reason geographically why the South African self-governing colonies, when once hostility between Britain and Boer had had time to some extent to die down, should unite as one great Dominion. Except in Basutoland few political boundaries correspond to any real geographical distinction. The inter-colonial frontiers were geographically negligible, the result of historical accident. Thus it came about that in 1910 the Union of South Africa was concluded between the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Colony), Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State; and in 1919 German South-West Africa, conquered in the Great War by the armies of the Union, was handed over to the Union as mandatory for the League of Nations. But as Newfoundland had stood out from the Canadian Dominion and New Zealand from the Commonwealth of Australia, so too Rhodesia, still under the administration of the Chartered Company, was not included in the South African Union; while the control of some native territories, such as Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, was retained by the Imperial Government. None the

less it seems hardly possible that, sooner or later, Southern Rhodesia at any rate will not take her place as one of the states in the great South African Dominion. Whether or not, when that day comes, she will bring with her also the tropical lands north of the Zambezi is more doubtful. The native population within the Union is already so great in proportion to the whites that it might hardly be wise still further to increase this disproportion. And the most serious objection against the exclusion of Northern Rhodesia from the Union, that access to the sea would then be possible for it only either through Union territory or through that of a foreign country, has been removed by the control by the British Empire of Tanganyika Territory, the former German colony of East Africa.

6

The Commonwealth of Australia

1. *The Discovery of Australia.*

The Portuguese, who for more than a hundred years after the bold voyage of Vasco da Gama were practically undisturbed by European rivals in the eastern seas, put forward some claim to have been the first discoverers of Australia. Early charts show a mass of land appearing south of Malaysia, where the main interests of the Portuguese lay; but much weight cannot be given to such evidence, for it may well be either an exaggerated representation of the Malay peninsula itself, or at best the result of rumoured discoveries of Arab or Malay sailors. It is certain, at any rate, that the first European people to gain real acquaintance with any part of the Australian coast were the Dutch. Previous to the union of Portugal in 1580 with Spain, their bitter foe, the Dutch had been the chief carriers of eastern produce from Portugal to

northern Europe. Cut off now from this trade, they first sought a way to the east by the north of Europe and Asia, and then, failing in this, openly entered into competition with Portugal by the Cape of Good Hope route. Their first expedition sailed in 1595 ; in 1602 the Dutch East India Company was founded to regulate the trade with the Indies, and carry

AUSTRALIA. Physical.

on the national war with Spain and Portugal; by 1619 it had established its capital at Batavia in Java. Next, between 1638 and 1658, the Portuguese were expelled from Ceylon, and in 1641 from Malacca. In 1652, as seen already, the Dutch made their first lodgement at the Cape of Good Hope. Firmly based in the fertile Indies, they began to push southward on voyages of discovery ; and early in 1606 the *Duyfken*

(Dove) entered the Gulf of Carpentaria in the north of the Australian continent.

But just as the Sahara blocked for mediaeval Europe progress to the south of the Mediterranean, so a similar trade-wind region effectively hindered the occupation of Australia by the Dutch. While its three great northern peninsulas project into the warm Malaysian seas, and it is crossed at its widest part by the Tropic of Capricorn, the bulk of Australia lies south of the Tropic. Its southern extremity is indeed in approximately the same latitude as the Cape of Good Hope; and its geographical position thus brings the continent within the sphere of influence of the south-eastern trade-winds. Most of Australia's surface is a relatively low-lying plateau, which extends from the west coast to the mountains which run north and south not far from the eastern seaboard. In the centre is a region of very great aridity, closely corresponding to the Sahara. It has a rainfall of only 5 to 8 inches annually in the central desert, although this increases westwards, and only on one short section of the western coastline is not more than 10 inches. The whole of the east coast, on the other hand, is well watered, with an average fall of 30 to 40 inches, increasing to 50 inches at Brisbane. The reason for this very marked contrast is that the trade-winds, approaching from seaward, blow westward over water which in winter is warmer than land, especially as the shores of New South Wales and Queensland are washed by a warm current which flows southward from the tropics. Coming into contact with the East Australian Highlands, they are forced to rise, and the abundant rains are precipitated which have caused the great dissection of the plateau of the East Australian Highlands, and covered their flanks with dense forest. This uplift of the winds, however, forces them to deposit nearly all their moisture near the coast, and the rainfall quickly decreases westward. Thus part of those coasts of Australia which were nearest to the

Dutch settlements, and therefore naturally the first to be discovered, was just that which was also most barren, and offered least inducement to colonization. Between 1616 and 1628 a series of expeditions explored the northern and western coasts, giving a fairly accurate knowledge of their outline. But Dirk Hartogs in 1616 unfortunately succeeded in landing on the only portion of coast which has a bare 10 inches of annual rainfall; and Pelsaert, who was wrecked a little farther south on the Abrolhos rocks in 1629, brought back to Europe a most unfavourable description of the country. It may in fact be noted that even to-day Western Australia contains only about one-sixteenth of the whole population. The north-west coast is intensely enervating from its humid heat. The country then was inhabited by a low type of savages, probably always few in numbers. The coasts seen were largely either swamp or cliff; and altogether there was nothing to attract to closer investigation a nation so intent on the main chance in trade as the Dutch. On the north coast, too, where there is really quite a heavy annual rainfall, due to the monsoon, it happened that the visit of the *Duyfken* to Cape York Peninsula took place in winter, which there is a season of drought.

A hundred years previously, however, the new situation which had been created by the discovery of America and the division of the globe between Spain and Portugal had, as we know, left unsettled the rival claims of these countries in the East Indies; and Magellan's voyage in 1519 to attempt to settle these claims had as part result his discovery of Tierra del Fuego. This was interpreted as showing that from Magellan's Strait a great southern continent stretched to the Pole. Quiros, too, in 1606 had come on the northernmost of the New Hebridean Islands, which he thought to be part of this same continent, *Tierra Australia del Esperitu Santo*; and Dutch sailors, Schouten and Lemaire, had sighted land east

of Tierra del Fuego, which they took to be its eastern shores, and named *Staaten landt* (Land of the States). Then in 1642 Anthony Van Diemen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, sent out Abel Tasman in search of this new southern land from the westward. His voyage along the south coast of Australia showed that its land mass at any rate did not reach to the Pole. On the 24th November he sighted Tasmania, which he named *Anthoonij Van Diemen's landt*, not realizing that it was an island. Thence sailing eastward, on the 13th December he made the discovery of New Zealand, and believed that he had thus found the western shores of the *Staaten landt* of Schouten and Lemaire, which had been the object of his voyage. The discovery of Australia from the north-west had been due to the same motive that sent Diaz round the Cape of Good Hope and Columbus across the Atlantic—the control of the Eastern spice trade. But the work of Magellan and Tasman had given rise to a new impulse—the search for the Southern Continent—which was to result in the discovery of Australia from the east, on the side where it invited, instead of repelled, settlement.

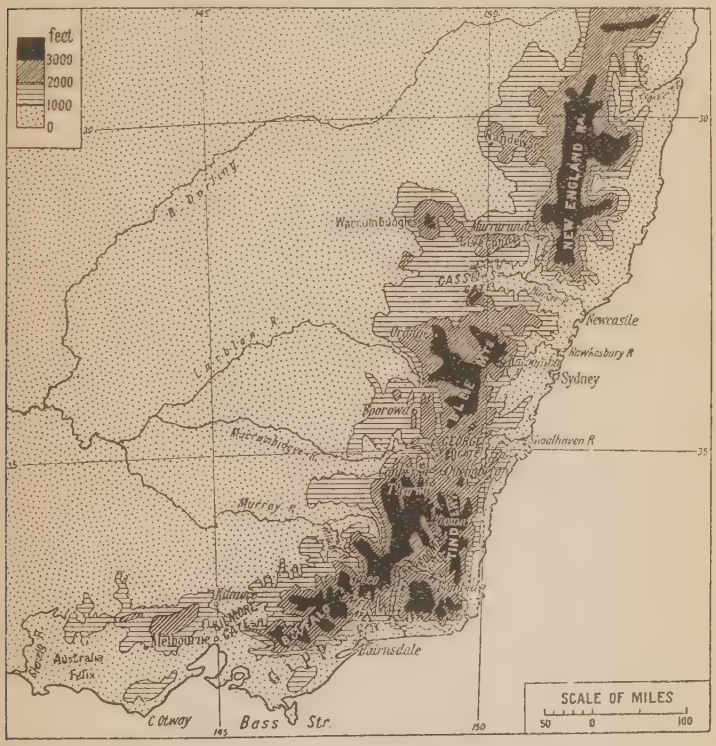
Tasman's voyage in 1642 might perhaps for the first time have justified a belief that Australia offered more than barren wastes and inhospitable coasts to the explorer, but his later voyages were less encouraging; and thus it fell to the lot of another nation, and one with more men to spare for colonists, to make settlement first in the continent. In 1768 Cook was appointed to the command of the *Endeavour* (370 tons), sent by the British Admiralty and the Royal Society to the South Pacific to observe the impending transit of Venus, and afterwards to undertake discovery work in the South Pacific. From Tahiti, which he reached on the 13th April 1769, he sailed in quest of the great Southern Continent. By sailing round New Zealand he proved that it could not be the western coast of that continent; and then started to return home by the

East Indies, first steering westward to reach and explore the east coast of Australia, which had been named by the Dutch New Holland. He sighted land on the 19th April 1770, and passed up the whole eastern coast, taking possession of it for Great Britain under the name of New (South) Wales. He then sailed through the straits between Cape York and New Guinea to Java. Cook was thus the first to reach portions of the Australian coast which were under the kindly influence of constant rain-bearing winds. The reports of the expedition showed that the land explored was well suited for settlement; and when by the War of Independence Great Britain lost her American colonies, and the Government had to find some new method of disposing of its convicts, who had previously been shipped to the plantations, it was decided to establish a penal settlement in Australia at Botany Bay.

2. *Settlement and Exploration.*

On the 20th January 1788 the expedition under Phillip sent out to effect this settlement landed at Botany Bay, but it was not long before the greatly superior site of Port Jackson, 8 miles northward, was discovered, with its magnificent harbour formed by a 'drowned' river valley; and here the beginnings of Sydney were made. It was, therefore, from this point that the first work of exploration began. The position of the early settlers was very similar to that of the first American colonists, whose loss to the Empire they were destined in part to make good. In both cases the settlements were restricted by a mountain barrier to a belt of coast-land, of an average breadth, in the case of New South Wales, of 35 to 45 miles, but varying according to the width of the river valleys. The strip of coast-land in the Hunter valley, for instance, is 150 miles between the mountains and the shore, while at Illawarra the highlands come right down to the sea. The average breadth of country available for the American colonists was much

greater than this; but on the other hand the Alleghanies, which checked their expansion westward, were a barrier much more formidable than the East Australian Highlands.



AUSTRALIA. South-eastern Highlands.

These highlands stretch across the whole breadth of the continent, parallel to the east coast, from Cape York in the north to Tasmania. They curve westward also to occupy eastern Victoria. In spite of the name of Great Dividing Range sometimes given to them, they are not strictly a mountain range at all, in the sense that the Alps or the

Himalayas are a range—a chain of mountains uniform in structure, which has been upraised by folding of the earth's crust. They are rather, like the Scottish Highlands, the remains of a mighty table-land, far from uniform in structure, and greatly carved up by the agency of air and water erosion. This huge dissected table-land slopes steeply to eastward, more gradually to the west, which is due partly to the fact that a former eastward extension of the plateau has foundered beneath the sea. In Queensland, for instance, the eastern slopes break off in steep cliffs and escarpments; and the foundered and still sinking area is marked for 1,250 miles by a series of shoals over which is gradually spreading the coral rock of the Great Barrier Reef. The average height of the whole highlands is about 2,500 feet; their width varies from 30 to 300 miles. Especially in their northernmost division, in Queensland, where there is a heavy monsoon rainfall, they are densely timbered. In New South Wales the mountain area falls into three main blocks or massifs, the New England massif, the Blue Mountains massif, and the Southern or Kosciusko massif, each, roughly speaking, over 3,000 feet high, and separated by cols which are crossed by routes to the interior of the continent. The central of these mountain groups, the Blue Mountains massif, lying directly west of Sydney, formed the barrier which hemmed in the first colonists in the coast-lands. Owing to a single fold in the rock strata, where the hard surface layer has been cut through by rivers flowing eastward to the Pacific, the softer rock above the scarp has been eaten away more rapidly, so that valleys miles wide at their heads often have very greatly narrowed at their entrances to the coast plain. The rivers, rising on the old sandstone table-land, flow in shallow valleys to its edge, and throw themselves over the cliffs in picturesque waterfalls. So abrupt indeed is the escarpment that the original Sydney–Parramatta railway line of 1876 surmounted the Blue Moun-

tains by gradients sometimes as steep as 1 in 30. Between the New England and Blue Mountains massifs there are three gaps, only a little higher than 2,000 feet, in the connecting col. Indeed the central of these, the Cassilis Gate, due to the Goulburn River, a tributary of the Hunter, never rises to 2,000 feet, and affords the lowest passage across the East Australian Highlands between the Darling Downs in Queensland and western Victoria. Between the Blue Mountains and the Kosciusko massif on the south is the Goulburn Gap, where the 2,000 feet contour is only about twenty miles across. The discoveries of these two gates from the coast-plain across the highlands were events of first-class importance in the early development of the colony. The Goulburn Gap and the Murrurundi Gap, north of the Cassilis Gate, are now each traversed by a line of railway westward from Sydney. The Cassilis Gate itself, however, has never been used for a railway, possibly because this would favour Newcastle at the expense of Sydney, the capital of the state.

Placed thus between the mountains and the sea, for the first twenty-five years of the life of the settlement the colonists knew only the country which extended about seventy miles north and seventy miles south of Sydney. In 1803, however, Captain John McArthur had commenced the breeding of fine wool sheep; the industry had expanded; and when in 1813 a drought made urgent the discovery of fresh pasture lands to the westward, three settlers, Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson, more fortunate than others who had tried before them, succeeded in reaching the surface of the Blue Mountains plateau, and crossed the divide to the easier westward slopes towards the valley of the Fish River. Then by means of bond labour a road was constructed across the mountains by Evans, the Surveyor (1815), and the town of Bathurst was founded. Even before this date, in 1797, Shortland had discovered the Hunter River, and the outcrop of coal which brought about

the rapid growth of the town of Newcastle; and from the Hunter valley it was easy to follow up to the Cassilis Gate behind it. A few years later, in 1817, Hume discovered also Lake George and the Goulburn Gap. Expansion to westward had fairly begun.

The early difficulties in the way of inland exploration, however, had made the first work of discovery the examination of the Australian coasts. Bass in 1798 pushed southward down the coast of New South Wales and discovered Tasmania to be an island. Similarly Flinders first worked northward up the coast of what is now Queensland to Moreton Bay (1799), and then in 1801–2 sailed in the opposite direction into Port Phillip and Spencer Gulf, and along the shores of the Great Australian Bight. In 1802–3 he explored the north coast of the continent and the Gulf of Carpentaria. At the same time that these British expeditions were at work, the French too, who, like the British, had lost possessions in North America, were on the look out for colonies in the southern hemisphere. Their expeditions under La Pérouse, under d'Entrecasteaux and Kermadec, and under Baudin, explored the south and east coasts of the continent. Western Victoria and eastern South Australia were named by them Terre Napoléon; Spencer Gulf was called Golfe Bonaparte; and for a while it was not impossible that Great Britain and France should have been rivals in Australia as they had been in North America and India. It was partly to forestall the French that Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) was in 1803 annexed to the British Empire, and a convict settlement made on the island, first at Risdon, then at Hobart. In the next year further settlements from Sydney were made near Launceston on the northern coast of Tasmania. The next step was that in 1835 Batman and Fawkner and other flock owners from Van Diemen's Land crossed Bass Strait and settled on the fertile plains on the shores of Port Phillip, and thus founded what was to become

the colony of Victoria. The new colony drew settlers to its northern districts and to Gippsland overland from New South Wales, while the south and west were occupied by emigrants from Great Britain as well as from Van Diemen's Land. Meanwhile, in 1829–30, settlements had been made direct from Sydney in the future state of Western Australia, on the Swan River and King George's Sound ; and from 1823 onward in the future Queensland on Moreton Bay. Lastly, emigrants from Great Britain came in 1835–7 to form the nucleus of South Australia on the Adelaide plains. Both the Swan River district of Western Australia and the south of South Australia, it may be observed, have a climate of Mediterranean type, with an abundant winter rainfall of 30–40 inches.

Thus by 1837 the beginnings had been made round the coastline of Australia of the five mainland states. Whereas, however, in South Africa, the desert lay altogether on one side of the continent, and did not interfere with free communication through the centre, in Australia it occupied the centre, and placed a serious obstacle in the way of the most direct communication between east and west, south and north. Thus exploration of the interior of the continent was now urged on by two main motives, both due to the presence of desert conditions in the heart of the continent. These were (1) the necessity of land routes to link up the new scattered settlements ; and (2) the possibility of finding a connexion between Sydney and some port on the northern Australian coast, which would be convenient for trade with the East Indies. To these a third was added in (3) the search for new pasturages. This may be considered first. This motive it was which influenced such journeys as these of Oxley (1815, 1818), Cunningham (1827, 1828), Sturt (1828, 1829), and Mitchell (1835, 1836), whose work cleared up the questions whether or not the rivers of the Murray basin formed one system, and whether they drained direct to the ocean or into a fresh-

water inland sea filling a vast depression in the centre of the continent. The Murray is the greatest of Australian rivers, with a basin of 414,250 square miles. Its upper waters, that is, the rivers Darling, Murrumbidgee, and Upper Murray, flowed formerly as three independent rivers into an extension inland of Encounter Bay. Their present outlet is by the lagoon of Lakes Alexandrina and Albert, through four channels, to the sea. The early Australian explorers, however, believed that the interior of the continent was a depression below sea-level, surrounded by a mountain girdle, and filled with a great inland sea, into which flowed the Macquarie, the Lachlan, and the other streams which they knew drained westward from the East Australian Highlands. Flinders had sailed along the Great Australian Bight and believed that behind its limestone cliffs there lay a lagoon ; Oxley had followed down the course of the Lachlan in 1815, in an exceptionally wet season, and had found his course stopped by vast swamps ; and the theory of an island sea was disproved only by the expedition of Sturt and Hume in 1828, a period of drought, when they found that the Macquarie River disappeared in the plains. The unity of the rivers of the Murray system was also established by Sturt, who in 1829 discovered the junctions of the Murrumbidgee and the Lachlan, and the Murrumbidgee and the Darling, and by Mitchell (1836), who proved that the Darling and the Murray were not separated, but were one. Cunningham's two expeditions resulted in the important discoveries of the rich grass lands of the Darling Downs, and of Pandora's Pass, which gives access from the Cassilis Gate to the Liverpool Plains. The western portion of the Great Valley of Victoria also, with its very fertile soil, was first reached in 1836 and named 'Australia Felix' by Sir Thomas Mitchell. His favourable reports of this rich district led to immediate settlement.

Coming now to attempts to overcome the desert obstacle

to inter-colonial communication, the settlement in South Australia in 1836 gave a great impetus to expeditions which belong to our first group under this heading, that is, those which searched for land routes to link up the scattered colonies. Adelaide soon became a new centre of exploration, and from it started such expeditions as that of Eyre in 1840, who made his way from east to west, from Spencer Gulf to King George's Sound along the barren sea-coast of the Great Australian Bight, and that of Stuart who by 1862 crossed the continent from south to north, to Van Diemen's Gulf in Arnhem Land, along the route on which the trans-continental telegraph line was subsequently carried. For some time the great problem in South Australian exploration, however, was whether Adelaide was not cut off altogether by a horseshoe cordon of lakes from the interior. North of Adelaide is the great Lake Eyre basin of internal drainage; and separated from Lake Eyre only by the Flinders Range is the Lake Frome basin, another, though much smaller, similar region. When this district was first discovered in 1840, by Eyre, who had come northward by the South Australian Highlands from Port Augusta on Spencer Gulf, he was stopped by a band of salt swamps and salt lakes which seemed to him to form part of Lake Torrens, and to surround the South Australian Highlands on all sides but the south, and it is true indeed that after heavy rainfall Lake Frome and Lake Eyre are linked together. That there was no such complete barrier was not demonstrated until eighteen years later by the explorations of Babbage and Warburton. Similar expeditions from centres other than Adelaide were Banister's from the Swan River to King George's Sound, and Warburton's (1873–4) from Alice Springs, on the telegraph line south of the Macdonnell Ranges, to the De Grey River, in the north-west of Western Australia. On the other hand the journeys of Leichardt (1844–5) from Moreton Bay to Port Essington (Victoria) in Arnhem Land, and of Kennedy

(1848) from Rockingham Bay to Cape York, had as their object what we have described as the second motive of exploration, the discovery of a practicable connexion between Sydney and some port on the north Australian coast. There was, of course, also much invaluable work done in the interests purely of geographical knowledge and of science in general; and, in one way and another, by 1862, the outline of the map of Australia had been fairly well filled in, save in one solid block in the centre and north of the continent, enclosed approximately by lines drawn from the Fitzroy River in Western Australia south to the Bight, east to Lake Eyre, and north to the Victoria River. Here there is such variation in the amount of rainfall from year to year that the region must remain absolutely unsuited for close settlement. The expeditions of Warburton from Alice Springs; of Forrest in 1874, from Geraldton across Western Australia to the trans-continental telegraph line from Adelaide to Port Darwin; of Gillies (1873–6); and of Wells and Carnegie in 1896, all showed how little could here be expected. Indeed, except on the gold-fields in the south-west, there is hardly a settler in this district to-day.

3. *The Creation of the Commonwealth.*

Australia is, first and foremost, a pastoral country, and the wool industry is its staple industry. Speaking generally, sheep-breeding is most profitable where there is an annual rainfall of between 10 and 20 inches—for less rain means too little food and more means liability to foot-rot and other diseases—and where the mean annual temperature is lower than 75° Fahrenheit, for its fleece makes the sheep an animal of the temperate zone. These conditions are found practically throughout Victoria and New South Wales, but in the southern districts only of the other three mainland states. The result is that New South Wales has as many sheep as the

other states put together, just as Australia has more sheep than the rest of the British Empire. Queensland, on the other hand, is the chief cattle state, though the Northern Territory bids fair to be a most promising second to it. Wheat, which requires a minimum rainfall of fourteen and a maximum of forty inches, varying with local circumstances, is grown chiefly in the Riverina district of New South Wales, and in the Wimmera, Mallee, and northern districts of Victoria, as well as in the south of South Australia. But the development of Australia, and especially the growth of population, would have been slow, had they depended on sheep and cattle farming and agriculture. In 1851, however, was made the first discovery of gold by Hargreaves, near Bathurst in New South Wales; in the same year the precious metal was discovered also at Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria; and during the next twenty years prospecting parties were hard at work along the Eastern Highlands. There was a rush of immigration. The population increased nearly threefold in the ten years between 1851 and 1861; and naturally Victoria in particular received the bulk of the new settlers. Its population trebled in three years (1851–4), and nearly doubled again by 1857. Then in 1883 gold was discovered in Western Australia, in the Kimberley district, and nine and ten years later were found the Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie goldfields, so that Western Australia became the chief gold-producing Australian state. Later still, goldfields were also discovered in Queensland. The great influx of immigrants from all parts of the world continued, so that the increases in the ten-year periods 1861–71, 1871–81, and 1881–91, were 45 per cent., 35 per cent., and 40 per cent. respectively. Since then there has been steady, though much less rapid, expansion. Latterly, however, there has been an increase in the population of the capital cities which is unfortunately out of all proportion to that of the country districts. Over 96 per cent. of the whole population are still

of British descent; and one effect of the special class of immigrant attracted by the goldfields, where the individual and not, as in South Africa, the capitalist, was of first importance, has been the development of a particularly independent, self-reliant, type of democracy in Australia, with an intense affection for and faith in the future of 'God's own Country'.

New South Wales, which then included both Queensland and Victoria, only recently settled, received representative institutions in 1842. Till then the sole real authority had been that of the governor, acting under instructions from the Secretary of the Colonies. Tasmania, known till 1853 as Van Diemen's Land, had already separated from New South Wales in 1825; and the difficulties and irregularities of communication led further to the splitting off of Victoria in 1851, and Queensland in 1859. As already stated, Western Australia and South Australia were founded respectively in 1829 and 1836, the former originally under the name of the Swan River Settlement. By 1860 five of the six states had been granted responsible government, a privilege which Western Australia also received in 1890. Thus through the geographical conditions which made difficult inter-colonial communication, all the six colonies became full-grown communities in separation from each other. The natives were no danger, as they were in South Africa. They were few and weak, and a dying race. The very primitive Tasmanian race had died out altogether by 1876. French rivalry on the continent had been forestalled; and thus there was at first no common enemy or potential enemy, as in North America, to enforce unity for defence. Lastly, while railways, as in South Africa, were necessarily, from the waterless condition of much of the country, the great means of communication, they could not, as in South Africa or even, to a less degree, in Canada, actually exert any influence towards union; because separate administrations in each

colony meant separate railway policies, and no agreement on the adoption of a common gauge.

Difficulties of Protection and Free Trade between the states, however, and the necessity of union for defence in the new conditions which were arising in the Pacific, brought about a movement for Federation, in which the inclusion of New Zealand was at first contemplated; and from the 1st January 1901, the six Australian states became the Federal Commonwealth of Australia. By the Federal Constitution the states, however, retain all powers save certain which are expressly surrendered to the Commonwealth, among the most important of these being defence, immigration, the tariff, and postal matters. In this respect the Australian Constitution is in marked contrast to the Canadian, where the Dominion keeps all powers not expressly delegated to the Provinces. Thus the geographical conditions which encouraged for so long the growth of six separate colonies have left their mark on the Australian Constitution.

A powerful factor in the movement towards Federation was the ideal and battle-cry of 'Australia for the Australians', which is represented by the 'White Australia Policy' of to-day. It is strongly, even passionately, felt that in this great country with its population almost universally white, 96 per cent. British, race standards of morality and of general conditions of life must be maintained inviolate against the introduction of low-paid Asiatic labour. The working of democracy in a community is incompatible with the existence in its midst of two different racial standards. Two conclusions seem to follow, if this policy is to be rigorously applied, as undoubtedly Australian opinion is determined it shall be applied. In the first place the development of the Northern Territory will certainly continue to be retarded. Tropical products can only be produced and sold with profit with cheap labour, and European labour naturally is not cheap. It is urged that in

much of the northern country a six months' winter drought makes impossible characteristic tropical agriculture such as that of sugar; that the pastoral industry is the one best suited to the interior of the Northern Territory and the tropical districts of Queensland; and that it has yet to be proved that, with modern advances in tropical medicine and hygiene, men of European stock cannot colonize the Tropics and remain true to type. In the meantime, even if such white labour be possible, its economic value has also still to be proved; and, after nearly a century of experiment, Northern Australia remains practically empty,[1] and its great potential wealth undeveloped. In the second place those unpeopled and undeveloped tropical regions of Australia, with their fine natural harbour at Port Darwin, lie only six days' voyage from the centres of dense population of southern China. More—it is not only the tropical north which is under-populated. There is a population of only 5,000,000 Australians in their continent's 3,000,000 square miles. The whole of Australia is thus a tempting field for settlement for the overcrowded peoples of the East, at a time when these peoples are undoubtedly awakening from their centuries of sleep. Except at the periods of the rush for gold, it cannot be said that Australia has done much in the past to encourage immigration, even from the British Isles. Deducting departures, between 1861 and 1918 she received less than 800,000 people by net immigration; and if she is to receive the support of the rest of the British nations in her ideal of a White Australia, an essential first step is to reduce the great discrepancy between her population and her territory.

[1] According to the census of 1911 the population of the Northern Territory was 3,310, in an area of 523,620 square miles.

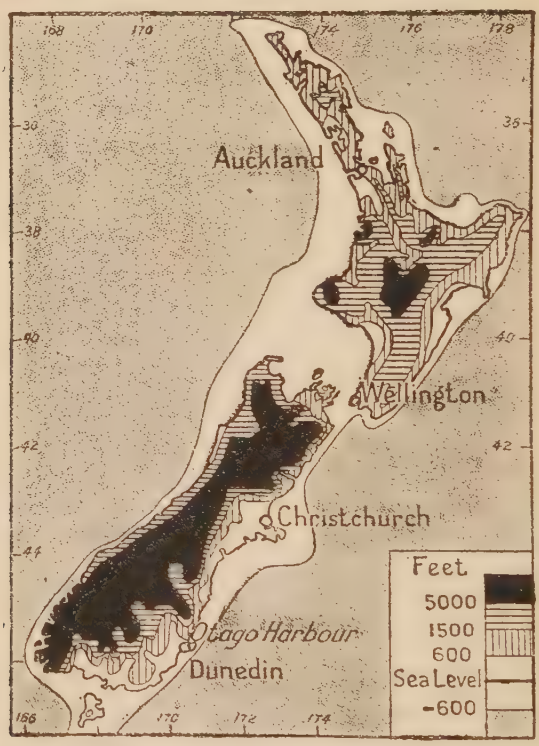
7

The Dominion of New Zealand

1. *Location and Structure.*

The Dominion of New Zealand is part of the chain of folded mountains which fringes the Pacific and lies 1,200 miles to the south-east of Australia. In shape it resembles an inverted boot, with Auckland at the toe. It consists of three narrow islands, North Island, South Island, formerly called Middle Island, and Stewart Island, which are separated from each other by Cook Strait and Foveaux Strait, and stretch through fourteen degrees of latitude with a total area of only 147,000 square miles. Of the two main islands, North Island has an extreme breadth of 280 miles and is considerably larger than Ireland; South Island has a breadth of 180 miles and is almost exactly the same size as England and Wales. Though its position in latitude corresponds with that of Italy physical conditions have given New Zealand an insular climate, and consequently an equable temperature, without very great differences between summer and winter; but stretching as it does through fourteen degrees of latitude there is naturally considerable contrast between sub-tropical Auckland in the north and Dunedin. In addition, it is to be noted that the Dominion has drawn its population of over a million almost entirely from the British Isles, about half from England and Wales, a quarter from Scotland, and rather less than a quarter from Ireland. All these considerations support the claim often made for the Dominion, that it is the Britain of the southern hemisphere. The most significant difference, perhaps, between this new Britain and the old is that, while the British Isles are at the centre of the land hemisphere of the globe, New Zealand is the centre of the water hemisphere.

The backbone of the Dominion is a chain of mountains running through all three islands, most marked in South Island, where it appears as the Southern Alps. This great dividing range, snow-clad on its higher peaks, densely forested on its



NEW ZEALAND. Physical.

steep, rain-drenched western slopes, in places 80 miles broad, and culminating in the 12,349 feet of Mount Cook, is in the South Island broken by one pass only, the Haast (1,716 feet), at a less altitude than 3,000 feet, and by none, save Arthur's Pass, north-west of Christchurch, that has yet been crossed by a railway. Thus it is natural to find that nineteen-twentieths

of the population of South Island live east of the Alps, attracted by the open, grassy nature of the country. Here, about Christchurch, are the fertile Canterbury Plains, 100 miles long by an average of 20 wide. But the coal, the gold, and the sources of water-power are found in the more difficult west and centre. On the north the Kaikoura Mountains, which branch off from the Alps in the north-east of the island, are continued in North Island on the far side of Cook Strait by another, lower mountain chain, which seldom exceeds 6,000 feet in height. This chain, broken as it is into separate blocks which have been given distinctive names—Tararua, Ruahine, Kaimanawa, and Raukumara Ranges—runs north-eastward across North Island from Cook Strait to Cape Runaway on the Bay of Plenty, at the 'heel' of the 'boot'. It is covered with dense forests on its slopes. Between the mountains and the coast of Hawke's Bay is fertile stock and dairy-farming country. West of the Kaimanawa Range lies Lake Taupo (238 square miles), the centre of volcanic action in the North Island. The volcanic plateau round the lake, being covered with porous pumice, is almost without inhabitants. The north-west corner of North Island (the 'toe' of the 'boot') is cut almost in two where Auckland stands on the narrow isthmus between the two bays of Hauraki Gulf and Manukau Harbour.

The east and west coasts of the two main islands both run generally from south-west to north-east and are nearly straight in outline. They are exposed on the one side of both islands to the roll of the Pacific; on the other to the Tasman Sea. On both sides the ocean current and the ocean swell, setting from the south-west, carry sand and gravel from the long stretches of coast, and deposit them as bars at the mouths of the rivers; so that for large vessels there are no natural harbours at all on the west side of New Zealand, and on the east only where large projecting promontories of hard rock give shelter, as at Otago and Banks Peninsulas. It is only where there is

protection from the west winds and the ocean swell, as on the north coast, in the south-western fiords of South Island, and in Cook Strait, that inlets and harbours can be found which are deep and secure, whatever the tide and weather.

By climate, then, and general geographical conditions New Zealand was well suited to be the home of a people of European stock; but in the structure of its two main islands, especially in the great mountain chain which cuts them into eastern and western halves, and in the position of the good natural harbours, there was inherent from the first the probability that settlement would take place, not round one, but round a number of detached, co-equal centres.

2. *Settlement and Union.*

We have seen how the Dutchman, Abel Tasman, sailing from Java in search of the great southern continent, had coasted along the west side of the New Zealand islands, though he had not landed, and had believed them to be part of the new *Staaten landt* discovered south of Cape Horn by his countrymen Schouten and Lemaire. One hundred and thirty-seven years later, Cook, in the *Endeavour*, had visited the islands, mapped their coasts, and proclaimed their annexation to the British Crown. But the Home Government, unwilling to take up new responsibilities, disallowed his action; and the islands by the end of the eighteenth century had become a No Man's Land, which was the centre of the South Pacific whaling and sealing industry, visited for their flax and their magnificent kauri pines, so suitable for vessels' masts and yards. Their only white settlers were a few traders who trafficked with the native Maoris, and from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards some missionaries.

The Maoris are a branch of the Polynesian peoples scattered through the islands of the Pacific eastwards of Fiji, and, as the result of troubles in Tahiti, had come about A.D. 1350 'wind-

wafted'[1] to New Zealand. They were settled mainly in North Island, and even there chiefly west of the dividing range, on the northern peninsula, and round Hauraki Gulf and the volcanic lakes in the centre of the island, where they found conditions most similar to the life of atoll-dwellers they had left behind. To them New Zealand was *Aotearoa*, the 'Long White Cloud' of islets, peninsulas, lakes, and swamp-ridges. The lakes and peninsulas which lie east of the dividing range in North Island, as in Hawke's Bay province, or in South Island, were too far from each other to attract. South Island, indeed, had a Maori population of only 5,000; and was visited by the great clans of North Island chiefly for greenstone, the material of which they made their weapons. North Island—'the Fish'—had a population of over 100,000. It was fortunately just those districts which the Maoris valued least that the British, when they came, could make most of; and as a result Sir George Grey was able to secure them by purchase almost 'for an old song'. The riff-raff of sailors and adventurers who were the bulk of the European settlers supplied the Maoris with guns for their inter-tribal wars, and French capitalists began to buy land for settlement. Against these evils in 1835 a league of fifty-three Maori chiefs petitioned for British protection; while the New Zealand Company, founded by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, tried again and again but consistently failed to obtain from the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, official support for their scheme of colonization. In despair they eventually determined to buy land and carry through their settlement unsanctioned. The Government's hand was at last forced, however, by information that a French company was forming with the support of King Louis-Philippe to anticipate Wakefield; and in January 1840 Captain Hobson, R.N., landed in North Island, and by the Treaty of Waitangi took over from the native chiefs the sovereignty of the country for the British Crown. A French

[1] *Maori* = 'wind-wafted'.

man-of-war and French settlers arrived off New Zealand in May of the same year, only four months too late.

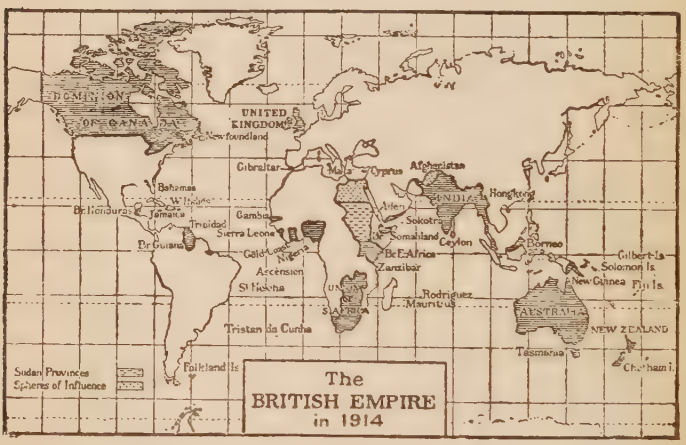
From the first, British settlements in New Zealand consisted of detached groups which traded with the Home Country and Australia rather than with each other. Hobson founded his capital at Auckland in the extreme north (1841), while Wakefield's settlements were made at Port Nicholson (Wellington), and Nelson (1842), on either side of Cook Strait, and at New Plymouth (1841). These were followed by the foundation of Otago by Scottish Presbyterians in 1848, and of Christchurch on the Canterbury Plains by English High Churchmen in 1850. In 1845 Sir George Grey came as Governor and began a capable, impartial, and sympathetic administration which brought order out of chaos, and in 1852 the colonists, 31,000 in number, were grouped into six provinces, Auckland, Taranaki (New Plymouth), Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, Otago, each with an elected council. After Sir George Grey left in 1853, however, serious grounds of quarrel arose between the settlers and the Maoris, which culminated between 1861 and 1871 in a series of native wars. Thus Maori troubles in the North Island combined at first with the absence of roads to make the development of the colony very slow and disappointing. In the early fifties, however, the discovery of gold in Australia and the consequent rush to the diggings provided a convenient market for the agricultural products for which many districts in both the main islands of New Zealand are exceptionally suited ; and the even greater advantage of a good home market was secured some ten years later when in 1861 permanent goldfields were discovered at Tuapeka in Otago province, and not long after at the Thames River in Auckland and elsewhere. In 1871 came the close of the Maori wars ; and in the next ten years the New Zealand Government spent a loan of fourteen millions in the development of roads and railways, in buying land for settlement, and in encouraging generally British

immigration. As a result, the population was increased five-fold from less than 100,000 in 1861 to 498,000 in 1881. It is now over a million, with the addition of 50,000 Maoris. In 1882, moreover, the real foundation of commercial prosperity was laid with the commencement of the freezing of the carcasses of cattle and sheep for export; and much land formerly under cereals was taken into use for fattening sheep. Meanwhile the geographical difficulties which held the different provinces apart had been gradually overcome. In North Island an additional province had been created in Hawke's Bay; in South Island between 1859 and 1864 there had been added Southland, Marlborough, and Westland. But a powerful economic factor now exerted its influence in the lure of gold and the arrival of new settlers who cared nothing for provincial distinctions; and road and rail soon made the ten provinces far more practically connected than the six had been. The relative increase in the population of South Island after 1861 shifted the centre of gravity from Auckland to Cook Strait; and in 1865 Wellington, more centrally placed and closely associated with Blenheim and Nelson across the Strait, became the official capital. Finally, in 1876, the provincial legislatures were brought to a close, and the central administration alone remained in power. In September 1907 definite recognition of the independent position of New Zealand in the Empire was given by its proclamation as a Dominion. For though a common interest in the future of the South Pacific closely unites the colony with the Australian Commonwealth, the stretch of ocean between them has naturally prevented actual administrative union.

8

The Sea-Ways of Empire

For a nation launching out upon world commerce, as England in Tudor times was doing, the first essentials were soon realized to be stations at the far ends of the ocean routes, where supplies could be had, where vessels could lie in



safety, and agents could collect, against their arrival, the products of the country which the ships were to carry home. Such stations, for example, were found in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay. But these were soon found inadequate. On voyages so long and so dangerous there was need for other stations also, intermediate along the route, ports of call, such as St. Helena, or the Cape in the hands of the Dutch; and while at the ends of the ocean routes trading ports grew into empires, these in turn became linked up with the home lands by a string of ports whose value was not primarily for trading, but for defence and war. The great ocean routes of British history were three in number: the two routes to India, (1) by the

Cape and (2) through the Mediterranean, and (3) the sailing-ship route, which after crossing the Atlantic by the north-east trade-wind belt to the West Indies passed north with the westerly winds by the coast of the United States to Halifax and the St. Lawrence, and so back across the Atlantic. Look at the lands of the British Empire to-day as they are represented on a globe or on a map of the World, and they will be found grouped about what has been called the 'Main Track of the Empire' [1]—the Atlantic crossing, from Canada to the English Channel, thence by Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal and the Red Sea to Colombo, and so to Melbourne, Sydney, and Wellington. It is very nearly the Great Circle line from Wellington to Halifax, Nova Scotia, differing from it only by the eastward bend to Colombo and the westward to Gibraltar. Canada lies at the one end of the track, Australia and New Zealand at the other; the British Isles and the Union of South Africa lie north and south, India and tropical Africa east and west of it, while Egypt is traversed by the line, with Port Said occupying a more central position in the British Empire, reckoned by steaming distance, or, for that matter, by air, than any of the ports of the Homeland or of the great Dominions. About this main track, which has been gradually evolved out of the three historic ocean routes we have just spoken of, the Empire has been built up; and a network of British harbours stretches now from the Atlantic across the Indian Ocean into the Pacific, more than half-way round the globe. The Pacific Ocean, however, 10,000 miles wide at the Equator, is as a whole a great gap in the naval communications of the Empire, as the routes from Sydney or Singapore to Vancouver are flanked by foreign (United States or Japanese) territory.

The American colonies came into being through a variety of causes, of which trade was not the chief. It was, therefore, rather the East and West Indies, valued for what they could

[1] Vaughan Cornish, D.Sc., *The Strategic Geography of the British Empire* (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. xxxii).

supply of the precious metals or tropical products, that were the aim of the great trading companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was, above all, in India, as we have seen, that trading stations, by force of circumstance, took arms in self-defence, and, almost before they realized it, had begun to found an empire. On the way to India, therefore, the need for ports of call was first most keenly felt. They were acquired, as opportunity offered, at St. Helena (1651), the Cape (1814), Mauritius (1810), and in Ceylon at Trincomalee (1795). But a career of annexation, once entered upon, is not easy to abandon. As the trading stations of 'John Company' have led to the Indian Empire, so from the first settlement at the Cape British South Africa has expanded up the table-land far north of the Zambezi.

On the second route, that through the Mediterranean, which came into being in 1869 when the Suez Canal was opened to commercial traffic, Britain held already, at Gibraltar and Malta, points of the greatest strategic value. Gibraltar had been taken from Spain in 1704. Based on this great fortress, a fleet, such as that of Boscawen in 1759, could prevent the French from Toulon slipping through the Strait to join their squadron at Brest, without first being sighted and brought to action. Not only did it interpose thus between the two halves of the French fleet; it was an obstacle also to the easy junction of the Spanish squadrons at Cadiz, on the Atlantic, and at Cartagena, on the Mediterranean; and, hardly less important, it was a most efficient flank protection to the Cape route to India against attack from the direction of the Mediterranean. But to hold Gibraltar by itself was not sufficient; without any other base in these waters, Britain would have perforce to abandon to France the command of the Mediterranean; and this was a policy in which no British Government had ever for long found it possible to acquiesce, in view of our great interests in the East, through which France might threaten India, as well as of the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.

From time to time, therefore, different strategical points were secured as more or less temporary bases from which the British fleet in the Mediterranean could watch Toulon. Port Mahon in Minorca served this purpose for most of the eighteenth century; Nelson before the Trafalgar campaign made use of the excellent harbour at the north end of Sardinia between the Madalena islands and the mainland. But neither Minorca nor Sardinia could compare in permanent strategical value with Malta, too far distant, it is true, as a station for watching Toulon, but only a short thousand miles from Gibraltar, so that the circles of military command in the Mediterranean exercised by these two points intersect. Further, Malta shared then with Italy, and now also with France, the control of the Strait of Tunis between Africa and Sicily, and had thus an important influence both on the Levant and on Southern Italy. 'I consider Malta', declared Nelson, 'as a most important outwork to India. . . . I hope we shall never give it up.'

The Suez Canal was essentially a French achievement. But the Power which had most at stake in its success was bound to be that for which it provided a new and vastly shorter route to Australasia and India. The effect of the opening of the Canal was to reduce the voyage from home to Indian ports by 4,000 miles, or by more than a fortnight's steaming for the fastest vessels of the day. In ten years 40 per cent. of British shipping to the East and to Australasia had been transferred from the Cape to the Suez route. In 1875 Lord Beaconsfield acquired by purchase from the Khedive of Egypt a controlling interest in the Suez Canal shares. Then in 1882 Gladstone's Government found itself compelled to take armed intervention in Egypt to restore order and protect the lives and property of Europeans against the 'Nationalist' rebellion under Ahmed Arabi. The rising once put down, it was realized that it was impossible to evacuate the country without establishing a reformed administration, a process which could not, in such a country as Egypt, be easily accomplished. Once again, thus

settled in Egypt, Great Britain found that it was impracticable to set a limit to the new responsibilities which she would undertake. Egypt is proverbially 'the Gift of the Nile'; not merely the wealth, not merely the well-being, but the very existence of the country depends on the annual deposit on the fields of Egypt of the flood-water of the Nile, coming through the Sudan from the great lakes of Central Africa and the volcanic plateaux of Abyssinia. It was intolerable that the life-blood of Egypt should be, as it was then, under the control of a savage and fanatical government in the Sudan such as that of the Khalifa. There was the danger, remote perhaps but not impossible, that a Power, not necessarily civilized but commanding civilized skill, might, by engineering works on the Upper Nile, divert for the irrigation of that region the water which is essential for the existence of Egypt. The questions of Egypt and the Sudan were not two, but one; and in 1898 by the victory of Omdurman this natural hinterland of Egypt came also under British control. Similarly, during the Great War, the attempted Turkish invasions of Egypt and the threatened interruption of British communications with the East through the Canal led to the British advance across the Desert of Sinai and the conquest of Palestine, which had been the base of the Turkish operations. As yet further points on the Suez route, Britain had since 1839 held a coaling-station at Aden, and in 1886 had also acquired Socotra. Lastly, Cyprus, which is a short 1,000 miles from Malta, as Malta is from Gibraltar, and which has historically always been of importance as controlling the sea approaches to the Gulf of Alexandretta, came into the hands of Britain on lease from Turkey in 1878 under the Treaty of Berlin, and was definitely annexed on the outbreak of war with Turkey in 1914. Its lack of any port more secure than an open roadstead, however, prevents its being of much value to the naval communications of the Empire.

We come now to the third of the ocean ways round which the history of the Empire has been built up. In Chapter 1 we

spoke of the belt of the constant trade-winds blowing south-westward from Europe across the Atlantic, and showed how Columbus, adventuring with the trade-winds, brought up in the Bahamas at Watling Island. This trade-wind belt naturally became the main route for sailing vessels crossing the Atlantic, and brought the West India islands into an intermediate position on the way to the British colonies on the Atlantic coast of North America, and to the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. But these islands had also in themselves great commercial importance as the source of tropical products, especially sugar, grown with slave labour. For this reason they were keenly sought after, according to the mercantile conceptions of the day, for their own sake. Thus Cromwell captured Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655; and successive British Governments throughout the eighteenth century down to the time of the Napoleonic Wars were continually tempted to fritter away their military resources in what Nelson called 'buccaneering expeditions' against the 'sugar islands'. Strategically, as a point on the trade-wind route to the North American ports, Jamaica, in spite of its dockyard at Kingston with its great natural capabilities, lay too far to leeward to be of primary importance. For naval operations the principal British bases in the West Indies were 1,000 miles to windward on the eastern edge of the Caribbean at St. Lucia and Antigua, and above all windward yet another 100 miles, at the small island of Barbados. So serious an undertaking in these days of sail was passage to windward against the trade-winds that no admiral was willing to take his fleet westwards into the Caribbean unless assured that the enemy's fleet had preceded him. The numerous small islands of the Lesser Antilles were continually changing hands, but the principal French bases were usually at Fort Royal in Martinique, which was watched by St. Lucia when in British hands, and at Guadaloupe. The Bahamas, which share with the United States the control of the one entrance from the Atlantic

to the Gulf of Mexico, were appropriated by England when her colonists were settling the neighbouring Carolina coast. From this point of view, then, of the sea-way from the Channel to St. Lawrence, the struggle with the American colonies, as Mahan has pointed out, involved for Britain a question of the first military importance—whether the chain of naval stations on the Atlantic seaboard which linked Halifax and Canada with the West Indies was to remain in her hands; and it was the loss of local naval predominance that decided the issue against her. Hence when the United States entered the Napoleonic Wars against Britain in 1812 the constant actions between British and American cruisers, such as the engagement between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*, took place mainly on the trade-route northward from the Caribbean past Cape Breton Island to the Channel, or on the great tropical highway of the trade-winds to the Caribbean. It must be noticed, however, that with the days of steam and the construction of the Panama Canal, the relative strategical importance of the British possessions in the West Indies is now completely reversed. Barbados and St. Lucia are now merely on the outer rim of the Caribbean, and it is Jamaica which by its central position occupies in the American Mediterranean a situation very similar to that of Malta in the European, and is placed nearer than any territory of the United States to the Panama Canal.

NOTE ON BOOKS

For fuller treatment of the Historical Geography of the British Commonwealth, reference may be made to the volumes of the *Historical Geography of the British Empire*, edited by Sir Charles Lucas, and, for geography, to those of the *Oxford Survey of the British Empire*. For North America the point of view of Historical Geography is emphasized by E. C. Semple, *American History and its Geographic Conditions*; and T. Crockett and B. C. Wallis, *North America during the Eighteenth Century: a Geographical History*.

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